

Music & Letters

A Quarterly Publication

Founded by A. H. FOX STRANGWAYS

Edited by RICHARD CAPELL

Price Five Shillings

Vol. XXXIV No. 2

April 1953

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Music and Letters

APRIL 1953

Volume XXXIV

No. 2

JOHN ELLA 1802-1888

BY JOHN RAVELL

JOHN ELLA, violinist, critic and impresario, was born, so the books of reference tell us, on December 19th 1802, and most add that he first saw the light at Thirsk. I became interested in Ella years ago and later, when on a visit to Thirsk, felt curious to learn how a son of that North Riding market-town had come to rise to the position of notoriety and influence Ella enjoyed in Victorian London. But no record of him was to be found at Thirsk.

How did the story of his Yorkshire birth begin? Ella, though in his heyday a person well known and not a little talked about, was singularly successful in avoiding reference to his parentage and the place of his birth. Alice Mangold (A. M. Diehl), who has left amusing descriptions of visits paid to Ella when he was in his prime, was obviously curious, but she has to confess that "little that is authentic of his biography seems to be known".

Like many others, she mistakenly names Thirsk as his birth-place, but it is true enough that there was a family connection with Yorkshire. In the seventeenth century a numerous and well-to-do family of the name of Ella was established in several villages of the Vale of Mowbray. Supporters of the King's cause, they were reduced to penury after the battle of Marston Moor. In the eighteenth century many members of the family moved to Leicestershire. Richard Ella, born in 1766, set up as a baker, after a twelve-year apprenticeship, in the parish of St. Martin's, Leicester. Our John Ella was his eldest son and was baptized in St. Martin's four days after his birth in 1802.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there were already many amateur musicians in Leicester and the neighbourhood.

Communications with London were improving generation by generation. William Gardiner of Leicester (1770-1853) mentions that in Charles I's reign the journey took seven days and in his father's time three days. But in 1791 he accomplished it between four in the morning and midnight; and about 1830 the time was reduced to seven hours. Gardiner's father, from whom William inherited a stocking factory, was an enthusiastic violoncellist, much in demand at private parties. William continued the business, travelled abroad, engaged in diverse musical and literary activities and left some account of the musical events of his time in a book called 'Music and Friends'. Though the practice of the art at Leicester was somewhat hampered by the lack of "music books" concerts were given in aid of the infirmary; at one such "grand music meeting" the Earl of Sandwich "beat the kettledrums". Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, had music parties at Hinchinbrook House, his country seat, and was patron to Joah Bates and Thomas Greatorex, both of whom spent some time in and near Leicester. A sister of Greatorex was organist at St. Martin's church. John Brooke, "of good fortune and manners", whose house was a "complete museum" of books and musical instruments, organized Subscription Concerts; and later there was an active music society. The Rev. Thomas Burnaby promoted music at St. Margaret's church. Not far away, at Dalby Hall, was the home of the Hon. Mrs. Bowater, daughter of the Earl of Faversham. Here the Abbé Dobbeler had found refuge when exiled from Bonn in 1793, bringing with him quartets by Haydn and Wranitzky and strange, exciting manuscripts by a young man called Beethoven. According to Gardiner, Beethoven's String Trio in E \flat , later published as Op. 3, was first performed in England at Leicester by an ensemble consisting of Dobbeler, himself and a local music teacher named Valentine. Gardiner recalls how carriages would be sent from Dalby Hall with urgent invitations to join a music party. "After the Abbé's arrival", he continues, "Dalby Hall was the scene of many musical parties through the following thirty years, which gave great delight to the distinguished lady of that hospitable mansion. Upon our midsummer visits the sestett party repaired to the neighbouring woods, and in the cool shade we awakened the echoes by the strains of Haydn and Mozart and the deep harmonies of Beethoven. Centuries may pass, now this honourable lady is gone, before such music will be wafted again over Dalby Wouds".

Young Ella, winning prizes at school for Latin and painting, was befriended by William Gardiner and by other local music-lovers. He first heard Haydn's and Mozart's chamber music at

Dalby Hall, and he grew up to realize that a love of music could bridge the social differences between gentry, manufacturers and tradesmen. Early in 1817 John Ella was apprenticed to his father, now a pastry-cook. Later he worked for a short while in an attorney's office.

Gardiner was on friendly terms with Pierre Baillot, the French violinist, and with members of the Fémy family. In the early summer of 1819 the young Ella stayed with François Fémy (a pupil of Baillot's) in Queen street, Soho, and studied the violin with him. Frans (or François) Fémy, known as Fémy Ainé, has no entry in 'Grove' but he was evidently regarded in his day as a person of importance. He was born in 1790, a son of a merchant, Ambroise Fémy, and he lived in London for some years. In John Feltham's 'Picture of London' for 1818 and the following years he is included in a list of Notable Violinists. When Fémy directed a rehearsal of his symphony written for and sold to the Philharmonic Society Ella, then sixteen, played in the orchestra as the composer's deputy—"frightened out of my senses". Fémy received £40 for his symphony, but it was not publicly performed. In 1820 he presented Ella with "One Book of Sonatas written by Leclair and some trifling variations of mine", regretting that it was not in his power "to acknowledge better your friendly and good-natured behaviour at all times". Later Ella took piano lessons with Thomas Haydon, and was introduced to Bach's Preludes and Fugues in 1823.

On January 18th 1821 Ella entered the orchestra of Drury Lane Theatre as a violinist. This was the occasion of Mary Ann Wilson's début in 'Artaxerxes'. Her career was as brief as it was brilliant. In her first season she earned £10,000. In 1827 she married her former teacher, Thomas Welsh. Their daughter married the violoncellist Piatti, and the daughter of this marriage, Ella Piatti, was John Ella's godchild. On his nineteenth birthday Ella played the viola under Sir George Smart at the City of London concert in the Guildhall. Then on May 28th 1822—the violinist Marshall having been seized with a fit—he was urgently sent for by Spagnoletti, leader of the Italian opera orchestra, told to come in full dress to His Majesty's Theatre in the Haymarket, and was placed at the back desk of the second fiddles. Scarcely was he seated when George IV arrived. The king "came in Grand State, all the ladies were in Plumes, and the house I have never seen so worthily attired for Royal Presence". Ella remained a member of the Italian opera orchestra for twenty-seven years.

By 1823 he was teaching, and in addition to his work at the Opera he was a member of the orchestras of the Philharmonic

Society and of the Antient Concerts. Ella reminds us that in the 1820s the principal "female choristers" at the Antient Concerts were brought from Lancashire. These women were considered to have "finer voices and a more intimate acquaintance with the works of the sacred composers than the theatrical choristers in London". They were "adequately remunerated to remain the whole season in town to sing exclusively at twelve concerts, and were familiarly called 'The Lancashire Witches'".

In 1824 he met Rossini, whom he frequently escorted on the composer's social calls. Rossini asked for his services as first viola player and nicknamed him "le blonde viole". Ella later declared that he had derived more pleasure and profit from playing the viola than any other instrument. In 1826 Ella played at Weber's funeral service. He steadily improved his position. In 1828 he received a guinea for playing at Smart's Guildhall Charity Concerts. Engaged for the Antient Concerts, "where applause was awarded by the fluttering of programmes alone" (A. M. Diehl)—"that awful tribunal where applause was rare and criticism certain" (Henry Phillips)—he wrote to ask for increased pay. The secretary in his answer stated that he was directed by the Archbishop of York to reply that "to mark his sense of the very proper and gentlemanly form of your communication and also of your superior effectiveness and zeal in the orchestra of the Antient Concerts His Grace has, with the concurrence of their Lordships, the other Rt. Hon. Members of the Managing Committee, given directions that your request contained in that communication as far as regards yourself shall be complied with. You will therefore consider your salary for the present season as £1 11s. 6d. for each concert and rehearsal".

At Victoria's coronation on June 26th 1838 Ella played in the orchestra at Westminster Abbey and received four guineas. In 1847, when Costa took over and reorganized the Covent Garden opera orchestra, he was appointed leader of the second violins for a fee of a guinea and a half a performance, including rehearsal. A clause stipulated that the player agreed not to accept engagements "which might interfere with his duties at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, except the Philharmonic Society and Antient Concerts". In August 1848 there was a squabble in the band room about the orchestral arrangements on the occasion of a benefit for Edward Delafield, the manager of the Royal Italian Opera. Ella appears to have taken Costa's part and, annoyed by the attitude of other players, left the theatre in disgust. He retired from all orchestral work except for playing in a special band formed on the occasion of the Princess Royal's wedding, January 21st 1858, and as volunteer

viola player in the band performing at Windsor after the Prince of Wales's wedding on June 10th 1863.

Ella records that in one season his orchestral engagements had included twelve Antient Music concerts on Wednesday evenings and twelve public rehearsals on the previous Mondays; six concerts of the Società Armonica; and eight concerts of the Philharmonic Society. At Her Majesty's Theatre the season included sixty subscription nights, with a few extra benefits. Most of the benefit concerts at the Hanover Square Rooms, too, were given with orchestra. Writing this some thirty years later, Ella added: "Compared with the terms then paid to an orchestral performer at Her Majesty's Theatre and concerts, they are now more than one-third less, whilst to soloists and singers the terms are increased to more than double". He was frequently invited "to lend his aid" at the benefit concert of some "meritorious artist", and by 1845 had performed gratuitously on 280 occasions. Of Ella as an orchestral musician Henry Phillips in his 'Musical and Personal Recollections' said: "... his mode of bowing, his energy and peculiar action when arriving at any great or prominent passage, made the spectator at once put faith in his passion for music and skill in its execution".

When Ella began orchestral work François Cramer, Master of the King's Music, courteously wrote to him: "I shall be very happy if occasion offers to be of service to you in your profession"; and Ella quickly made friends with leading players and was often invited to join their private chamber-music parties. Among these were Mori, one of the leaders of the Philharmonic Orchestra, of "extraordinary execution and beautiful articulation", according to Gardiner, "quick, active, but too eager to be graceful", and always with an eye to the main chance; Puzzi, the horn player; Lindley and Dragonetti, at whose joint entry into the orchestra the house rose in salutation; Willman the clarinet player and Nicholson the flautist. When the famous flautist died Ella sadly recalled his performance in Mozart's E \flat symphony. "Poor Nicholson used to follow Willman fainter and fainter until the tones died on the ear like those of a distant echo". Ella left many anecdotes of contemporary musicians: of Anglois, a visiting double-bass player who held his instrument on his knee like a cello and who, like a cellist, made a second nut with his left thumb for the production of violin-like notes; of Dragonetti, who refused to play encores without being paid "encore", Dragonetti, with his collection of dolls and his dog Carlo which habitually went with his master to the Italian Opera and slept at his feet, near Ella's chair, until one night it dreamed

Society and of the Antient Concerts. Ella reminds us that in the 1820s the principal "female choristers" at the Antient Concerts were brought from Lancashire. These women were considered to have "finer voices and a more intimate acquaintance with the works of the sacred composers than the theatrical choristers in London". They were "adequately remunerated to remain the whole season in town to sing exclusively at twelve concerts, and were familiarly called 'The Lancashire Witches'".

In 1824 he met Rossini, whom he frequently escorted on the composer's social calls. Rossini asked for his services as first viola player and nicknamed him "le blonde viole". Ella later declared that he had derived more pleasure and profit from playing the viola than any other instrument. In 1826 Ella played at Weber's funeral service. He steadily improved his position. In 1828 he received a guinea for playing at Smart's Guildhall Charity Concerts. Engaged for the Antient Concerts, "where applause was awarded by the fluttering of programmes alone" (A. M. Diehl)—"that awful tribunal where applause was rare and criticism certain" (Henry Phillips)—he wrote to ask for increased pay. The secretary in his answer stated that he was directed by the Archbishop of York to reply that "to mark his sense of the very proper and gentlemanly form of your communication and also of your superior effectiveness and zeal in the orchestra of the Antient Concerts His Grace has, with the concurrence of their Lordships, the other Rt. Hon. Members of the Managing Committee, given directions that your request contained in that communication as far as regards yourself shall be complied with. You will therefore consider your salary for the present season as £1 11s. 6d. for each concert and rehearsal".

At Victoria's coronation on June 26th 1838 Ella played in the orchestra at Westminster Abbey and received four guineas. In 1847, when Costa took over and reorganized the Covent Garden opera orchestra, he was appointed leader of the second violins for a fee of a guinea and a half a performance, including rehearsal. A clause stipulated that the player agreed not to accept engagements "which might interfere with his duties at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, except the Philharmonic Society and Antient Concerts". In August 1848 there was a squabble in the band room about the orchestral arrangements on the occasion of a benefit for Edward Delafield, the manager of the Royal Italian Opera. Ella appears to have taken Costa's part and, annoyed by the attitude of other players, left the theatre in disgust. He retired from all orchestral work except for playing in a special band formed on the occasion of the Princess Royal's wedding, January 21st 1858, and as volunteer

viola player in the band performing at Windsor after the Prince of Wales's wedding on June 10th 1863.

Ella records that in one season his orchestral engagements had included twelve Antient Music concerts on Wednesday evenings and twelve public rehearsals on the previous Mondays; six concerts of the Societ  Armonica; and eight concerts of the Philharmonic Society. At Her Majesty's Theatre the season included sixty subscription nights, with a few extra benefits. Most of the benefit concerts at the Hanover Square Rooms, too, were given with orchestra. Writing this some thirty years later, Ella added: "Compared with the terms then paid to an orchestral performer at Her Majesty's Theatre and concerts, they are now more than one-third less, whilst to soloists and singers the terms are increased to more than double". He was frequently invited "to lend his aid" at the benefit concert of some "meritorious artist", and by 1845 had performed gratuitously on 280 occasions. Of Ella as an orchestral musician Henry Phillips in his 'Musical and Personal Recollections' said: "... his mode of bowing, his energy and peculiar action when arriving at any great or prominent passage, made the spectator at once put faith in his passion for music and skill in its execution".

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aloud and accompanied Grisi with a melancholy whine; of Spagnoletti, warm-hearted but acutely conscious of the dignity of his position as leader of the opera orchestra.

Ella noted many incidents in the orchestral and operatic performances of the time—how the overture to 'William Tell' was loudly hissed at the first performance at the Haymarket Theatre; how the overture to 'Der Freischütz' was laid aside as being too difficult for the players; how it became a custom to curtail the second movement of Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony by a third (the 'Harmonicon' critic had continually complained that this movement was too long); how he found in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony that "the screaming effect of the voices is tolerable only when distance lends enchantment to the ensemble"; how a conductor interpolated his own songs into a Donizetti opera, and the manager of the theatre replaced the overture by one of his own composition; how, while the conductor at the Opera indicated one tempo, the leader of the orchestra set another by beating time with his violin bow and stamping his foot, and the prompter, traditionally in control of the chorus, established a third tempo; and how another opera conductor cried in anguish to the orchestra: "My Got, go vit de singer!"

Though Ella had quickly found his feet as a young man in London he was dissatisfied with his musical education, and in 1825 he entered the then two-year-old Academy of Music (not yet Royal) as a double-bass student. He studied harmony under Attwood. Then in 1827 he was off to Paris to study counterpoint, instrumentation and composition under Fétis. He compared his lessons there at 4s. 2d. with "very inferior instruction" at 10s. 6d. in London, and subsequently wrote: "I received instruction in Paris such as I could not obtain at any price in London". In 1829 Ella set out with the intention of visiting Italy but, breaking his journey in Paris, he went to a performance of 'Guillaume Tell' and was so captivated that he revisited the theatre night after night and, in fact, stayed on in Paris for five months. He did not see Italy until thirteen years later. During these two sojourns in Paris Ella became friendly, among other musicians, with Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Rossini and Berlioz, whose ardent champion he became. He presented Berlioz with a set of Shakespeare's works, and Berlioz reciprocated later on with a copy of 'Les Soirées de l'orchestre', among other things, and with the dedication of the second part of 'L'Enfance du Christ'.

For some twenty years Ella wrote musical articles and criticism—for 'The Morning Post' between 1828 and 1842, 'The Athenaeum'

between 1831 and 1834, in 'The Musical World', where his hand can be detected in concert notices before he began the series of 'Ella's Musical Sketches' in 1837, and for other periodicals. It is likely that he himself took part in many of the performances he criticized. In the late 1820s and early 1830s he is much concerned about the low standard of London orchestral playing and, on the strength of his experiences in Paris, he constantly recommends the vesting of undivided authority in the conductor and the use of the baton. His remarks on the baton are of particular interest in the light of Arthur Jacobs's paper in *MUSIC & LETTERS*, October 1950, demolishing the belief, widely held since the production of Spohr's autobiography in 1865, that Spohr introduced the baton at a London concert in 1820¹. Ella states more than once that the first person to conduct at a public concert in London with a baton was Mendelssohn (Philharmonic concert May 25th, and Nicholson's concert June 10th 1829, and again in May 1832). Chelard "established" the use of the baton at his performances at the King's Theatre in May to July 1832, Turle conducted "with a music sceptre in his right hand" at a Vocal Concert in February 1833, and Smart and Bishop used a baton at Philharmonic concerts in the following month.

There is some confusion of dates in certain passages recollected in the 'Musical Union Records' two decades later; but Ella's contemporary writing in 'The Morning Post' and 'The Athenaeum' shows that he carefully noted the occasions on which a baton was employed and its effect upon the performance. When he talks about "those distracting white wands used at London concerts" (quoted by Adam Carse in 'The Orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz', page 334) he is not decrying the use of the baton but is comparing, to their disadvantage, the sticks used in London with the small batons he had seen used by Dessoff at Vienna in 1866.

The extract from the Earl of Mount-Edgumbe's 'Musical Reminiscences' of 1834, which bothered Robert Elkin (see 'Royal Philharmonic', page 23, footnote), now falls into place. Other passages in those reminiscences show that Mount-Edgumbe was opposed to the new practice.

Ella's activities as an impresario did not fully develop until the second part of his life, but the foundations had been laid early in his career. In 1823 he was engaged to give musical instruction to

¹ On p. 95 of the 'Harmonicon' for 1833 there is an editorial footnote to a letter which reads: "The practice of beating time with the bow was introduced into this country by M. Spohr . . ." This passage is not mentioned by Mr. Jacobs, nor by Mr. Carse in his detailed discussion of conductors and the baton in 'The Orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz'.

Lord Saltoun's nieces, and before long he was in charge of the Saltoun Club of Instrumentalists, an orchestra consisting of well-to-do amateurs with eminent professors leading each section. In 1826 he formed *La Società Lirica* for the study and performance of little-known operas, which he arranged for a small choir and orchestra again consisting of amateur and professional musicians. This organization continued under Ella's direction, in one form or another, for half a century. The Duke of Leinster, who studied the double-bass with Dragonetti, was sometimes the host at the society's meetings. Overtures and symphonies were played before dinner, and later in the evening Ella conducted extracts from operas. Some fifty years later he lamented: "Among the upper ten of the present day one would search in vain to find such an array of accomplished vocalists and instrumentalists". He was entrusted when still a young man with the management of private concerts. A letter written by Sir George Warrender in about 1830 gives us a glimpse of such functions in fashionable London:

I think of having five nights for music previous to the Easter vacation and while there is no employment for the music people in the private houses in town. I propose to give preference to the pupils of the R.A.M. and you may propose to Miss Childe and Mr. Seguin twenty guineas each for the five nights—to a second soprano and tenor three guineas each night they come, to each of the persons engaged for the orchestra 1½ guineas—the orchestra will attend rehearsals if required.

Ella's own promotions began about this time. In 1829 he announced a concert at Mrs. Henshaw's residence, at which Sontag and Malibran sang and Fétis, on a visit to England, acted as maestro. In 1830, under the patronage of the Duke of Leinster, he gave a series of four musical evenings at 28 Edwards street, Portman square, with the purpose of "introducing young, deserving and meritorious artists". In the next year three similar concerts were arranged at the Little Argyll Rooms. In 1830 Ella lost nearly £60, in 1831 £70.

For a time he kept minutely written journals which have recently come to light. As a member of the Opera orchestra he writes in 1836: "Costa proves a very able maestro and takes great pains and saves us much trouble". Another entry records that the prima-donna was ill: "nevertheless she pleased me infinitely more by not screaming than when she was well". The deputy system: "The deputies of the third horn and bass trombone did more mischief than a person ignorant of the intricacies of Dramatic Music would consider possible". On a performance of 'Figaro' in 1838: "The Pit People took possession of the stalls . . . were persuaded to leave

and go on the Stage—a row lasted from 7 to 9, Laporte was sadly bullied . . . the opera proceeded with 200 people on the stage!”

On the appearance of the first number of the ‘Musical World’ (before he himself became a contributor): “. . . a commonplace publication, one half filled with advertisements, the other of extracts from Musical Histories by Burney, etc., with slight notices of Mushroom Musical Societies”. Reviewing the year 1838 he confides: “I cannot say I am at all content with myself. My profits have certainly been as good as in any previous years but I have not been able to strike out a new and important track for the gratification of my ambitions. My general musical talent, I am convinced, qualifies me for the direction of something good if not great . . .”

When Ella was consolidating his position there was a sudden vogue for chamber music. Hitherto many concert-promoting organizations had presented orchestral and chamber works in the same programme, and occasionally soloists—Charles Neate, the pianist, for instance—included chamber music in their benefit concerts; but the public chamber-music recital was unknown. Now in the mid-1830s the London public was invited to programmes of chamber music interspersed with songs. Blagrove, one of the first students at the R.A.M., led a quartet at the Hanover Square Rooms and incidentally gave the first public performance in London of posthumous quartets of Beethoven. Mori and his colleagues quickly followed at Willis’s Rooms; Puzzi led a wind ensemble; there were chamber concerts in the City and the fashion spread to Grove House, Camberwell, where the vocal interlude degenerated into “a comic Italian Trio” contributed by Mr. Parry, junior. Programmes were inordinately long, and though these ventures were at first well patronized none of them, with the exception of Dando’s concerts at Crosby Hall, lasted for more than a few seasons.

In 1844 Ella wrote that there was no London institution where eminent instrumentalists could be heard in anything more than “ephemeral morceaux adapted to the tastes of those mixed audiences which usually attend the speculative, monster, sensual and senseless concerts of a London season”. There were many distinguished musicians in London that year, and among those taking part in informal chamber concerts at Ella’s rooms were Mendelssohn, Thalberg, Moscheles, Benedict, Ernst, Sivori, Piatti, Puzzi, Sainton, Offenbach, Döhler and a boy-violinist named Joseph Joachim. Many people sought invitations, and Mrs. Grote, wife of the historian, suggested that Ella should found an institution for classical chamber music. In 1845, with the Duke of Cambridge as president and the Earl of Westmorland (formerly Lord Burghersh,

the founder of the R.A.M.) as vice-president, Ella's Musical Union began its life of thirty-seven seasons.

Each afternoon concert included three chamber-music works. Later piano and other instrumental solos and, very occasionally, vocal pieces were heard in addition, but Ella steadfastly refused to popularize his programmes. "Popular ballads", he said, "and sensational music from operas are out of place in a classical concert. . . . If we wish to raise the taste of the public . . . we must prune the trivial songs smuggled into our concert programmes to fill the pockets of interested parties: singers and shop-keepers". But the new organization was promptly attacked by H. F. Chorley, now critic of 'The Athenaeum', and J. W. Davison, critic of 'The Times' and editor of 'The Musical World'.²

Clayton Freeling, a friend of long standing and a member of the committee, advised Ella to print analytical programme-notes, and the result was comprehensive "synoptical analyses" with copious music-type illustrations. Ella dispatched these "Musical Union Records", as they were called, free of charge to all subscribers a day or two before the performance. The "records" also included biographical notes on the artists and paragraphs on current musical events. In 1821 two programmes of the Amateur Concerts conducted by Sir George Smart had included short notes descriptive of Beethoven's Sixth Symphony and the finale to Act I of 'Don Giovanni', and in his comprehensive annotated programme for the first Reid concert (1841) Professor Thomson printed a diagram to illustrate a fugue. But Ella's "records" are more elaborate than any programmes previously issued.

Chorley's articles were not unnoticed by Ella, who in April 1845 alluded loftily to them, saying that, "nothing will ever tempt us to convert this Record into a channel for controversy or personalities". A few weeks later, however, Chorley made a blunder and published some inept verses; and Ella fell to temptation, gleefully ridiculing the critic's "lyrical gems" and the flight of fancy which "had planted an organ in the Sistine chapel". Years later the two were on more cordial terms.

The Musical Union audiences were select. That they should be both appreciative and respectable and that no lady need fear to come alone subscribers had to be nominated in the first place by the committee and subsequently by other members of the society. Distinguished persons were invited by Ella as guests. In reply to

² Davison also gave concerts. Of one of these, at which a composition of his own had been played and he himself had taken part as a performer, he wrote: "The performance of such distinguished artists needs no criticism. They all played evidently *con amore*, and the result was a musical treat of unprecedented excellence".

such an invitation the Duke of Wellington answered: "You know the malformation of my musical bumps, but that does not prevent my appreciating your kindness".

The committee promised guarantees against loss in the first season, but thereafter Ella assumed complete financial responsibility. In 1847 the Prince Consort became patron. At first the matinées took place at Blagrove's Rooms. Membership rapidly increased, and during the second season a move was made to Willis's Rooms where the Union met for twelve years. In 1858 there was another move to the newly opened St. James's Hall, of which Ella was an original director. Here Ella adopted an arrangement similar to one he had observed at Prince Czartoryski's private concerts at Vienna in the winter of 1845-46. The artists played on a square platform in the centre of the hall, the audience sitting around familiarly.

The audience was at first composed of Ella's friends and acquaintances of earlier days and was drawn mainly from aristocratic circles, but he stood in no awe of his committee and noble patrons, and insisted that he alone had authority to invite as guests outstanding men of science, literature and music. He reiterated that in the association of amateurs and artists the amateurs reaped the greater benefit, and he sharply demanded that the audience should not leave during the last piece of the programme, such having been an unfortunate custom inherited from early Philharmonic Society days. If the injunction was disobeyed it was repeated in sterner language in the next programme. Ella became known as the musical dictator of London, and it was said that the only person to whose advice he would listen was Sir Frederick Gore Ouseley.

His contemporaries have left us their impressions of the Musical Union matinées. The quondam pastry-cook, now "a short man with a big bald head . . . a Roman nose, prominent chin, overhanging brows, twinkling eyes and a broad grin . . . bridegroom-like in his dark-blue frock-coat, light tie and spotless kid gloves", would escort a lady pianist to the piano or would converse with "some important dowager . . . one of those ladies irreverently termed 'Ella's duchesses' by the youthful members of the Union" (A. M. Diehl's 'Musical Memories').

It was a sight for the gods when Ella rose from his gilded seat, held aloft his large, capable hands, clapped them and called for SILENCE in a stentorian voice. After this no lord or lady present, however distinguished, dared to interrupt the music by fashionable or any other kind of chatter. (Cobbett's 'Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music'.)

At some other concert at which there was some talking the Duke of

Cambridge remarked: "You should get Ella here! He'd soon stop that!"

The most eminent performers of the day accepted or sought Musical Union engagements. Charles Hallé made in all some sixty appearances at the Union. On his Continental excursions Ella engaged for his concerts Bottesini, the double-bass player, Sophie Menter, Ernst Pauer, Anton and Nicholas Rubinstein, Leopold Auer and Theodor Leschetizky, several of whom appeared in London for the first time under his auspices. At a party at Leipzig in 1846 Mendelssohn introduced Ella to Clara Schumann with the remark that she played his music better than anyone else, including himself. It was, however, ten years before she made her English début at the Musical Union, where she was a frequent collaborator until in 1866 she cancelled an engagement at a few days' notice on account of "an unexpected illness"—whereupon Ella broke with her. With many misgivings Ella presented Schumann's piano quartet in 1848, afterwards writing of its "presumptuous and crude harmonies" and its "daring collisions of chords [which] rather startled our preconceived notions of purity of harmony". For this occasion the composition had been "shorn of some of its proportions"; it was heard entire in 1863 but not fully appreciated until a performance in 1865 with Alfred Jaell as pianist.

In 1852 an ensemble led by Joachim gave the first public performance in England of Schubert's D minor quartet. Spohr supervised the rehearsals of his sextet Op. 140 in 1853. Brahms's C minor piano quartet reached the Union in 1876, Tchaikovsky's D major quartet in the same year, and Fauré's violin sonata, Op. 13, the year after. Leopold Auer, in his autobiography, speaks of the unadventurous programmes demanded by Ella's "arch-conservative" subscribers.

Seven years after establishing the matinées Ella turned his attention to evening concerts. These, having paved the way for Chappell's Popular Concerts, were discontinued after 1859. There was a disappointing outcome of the trouble the organization of the Musical Union Institute caused him. The project was near his heart. It was designed to correct the want of encouragement in London found by young and struggling musicians, and to provide a scene where they could "make a début without hiring an expensive hall; where lectures and trials of new works would be organized; and social activities would enable visiting musicians and music-lovers to meet their English colleagues . . ." After nine years' activity the Institute was closed and the library presented to the South Kensington Museum.

So early as 1851 Ella had spoken of the unsatisfactory state of his eyesight. Later he underwent two operations, but by 1882 he was totally blind. He also became deaf and then paralysed, but he retained his mental faculties until shortly before he died, a bachelor, on October 2nd 1888. His 'Musical Sketches Abroad and at Home' was published in 1869 (third edition, enlarged and revised, 1878).

Short in stature, Punch-like in features, certainly not averse to self-advertisement, sometimes autocratic and disputatious, he made enemies as well as friends, and he was often belittled and misrepresented by contemporaries and younger men. But he had a kindly nature, charm of manner, a deep love for the best music and a real concern for artistic standards. With Thomas Mace, whose 'Musick's Monument' he treasured, he believed in the moral and ennobling effects of music. While he admired Rossini, Meyerbeer and the younger Wagner his chief delight was chamber music: "We find our musical desires more often realized by four consummate artists than by four hundred". Above all he loved Haydn's, Mozart's and Beethoven's quartets, and he strove to communicate and share his experience. But for his idealism and tenacity the musical life of nineteenth-century England would have been poorer.

EDITORIAL NOTE.—This article is an abridged recension of an unpublished Life of Ella.

THE LONDON AUTOGRAPH OF 'THE FORTY-EIGHT'

BY WALTER EMERY

THE so-called London Autograph of the Forty-Eight (British Museum Add. MS. 35021) is a collection of twenty-one separate manuscripts, each containing a Prelude and Fugue from Part II. Three Preludes and Fugues are missing. Mendelssohn examined the manuscripts in 1842, and accepted them as autographs. They were then in a private collection; and as neither Mendelssohn nor anyone else seems to have thought them worth mentioning, they long remained unknown to Bach students. They were not used by Kroll for his two editions (Peters, 1862-63; Bach-Gesellschaft XIV, 1866), or by Bischoff (Steingräber, 1884), or by Spitta. They were briefly described in the first edition of Grove (1887), and were acquired by the Museum in 1896.

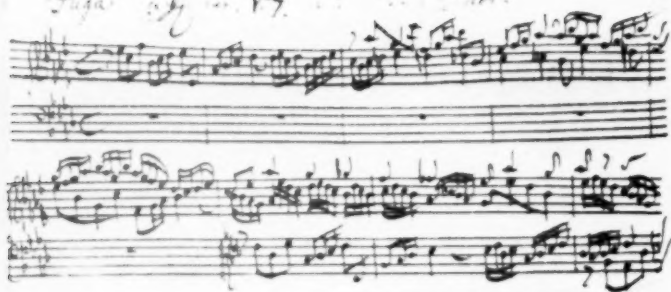
The following remarks appeared in Hinrichsen's 'Music Book' VII (1952), p. 304:

Until today this hand-written British Museum copy of Volume II of the Well-Tempered Clavier has been regarded as written by Bach himself. Because of its notation, however, doubt has now been cast on the authenticity of this autograph by Fritz Rothschild in his book 'The Lost Tradition in Music' (Rhythm and Tempo in J. S. Bach's Time), (O.U.P., N.Y., and A. & C. Black, London, 1952).

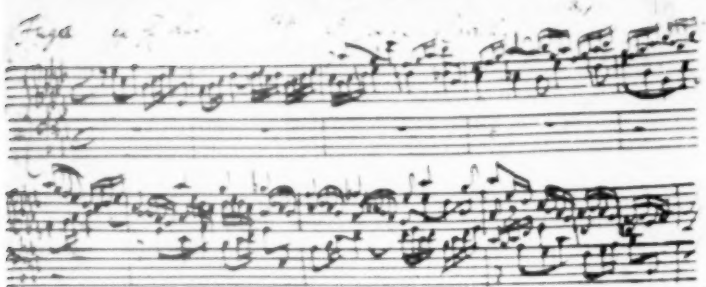
Readers of this passage can be excused for assuming that Rothschild has questioned the authenticity of 35021 as a whole. His book was not published until several months after the 'Music Book'; but it can now be seen that his doubts apply only to the time-signatures of five Fugues—even if they are well founded, a point on which there may, or may not, be room for differences of opinion. But thanks to the 'Music Book', there must by now be a good many musicians under a vague but rather agreeable impression that 35021 is no better than it should be.

It was the 'Music Book', again, that prompted Miss Richardson to quote Rockstro's account of the interview at which Mendelssohn vouched for 35021 (MUSIC & LETTERS, January 1953, p. 39). It makes a vivid and delightful picture. But this was not the only dramatic moment in the nineteenth-century history of the

I Fuga No. 17. in G Major.



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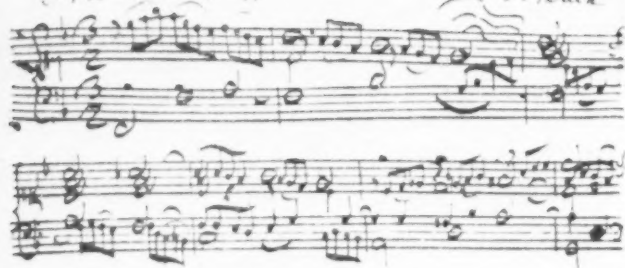
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Praeludium II

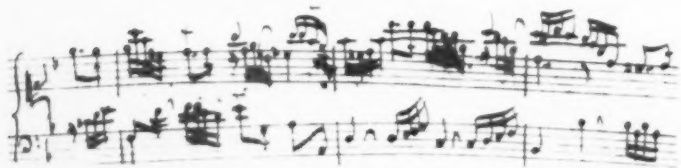
W. A. Bach



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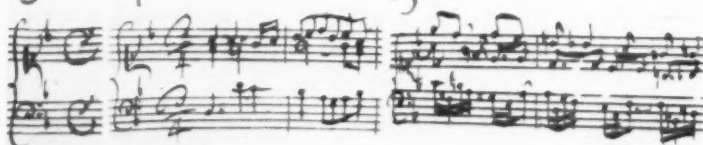
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15



16

Fuga

17

Praeludium



manuscripts: a history that has more than once been misrepresented and, considering its human interest, has been strangely neglected.

* * *

The twenty-one manuscripts catalogued as 35021 are separate today, and must always have been separate, as will be shown. The three works that are missing, and have been missing since 1879 at latest, are Nos. 4, 5 and 12 (C \sharp minor, D major and F minor).

The manuscript of the A \flat major, which is exceptionally long, consists of two folded sheets pasted together.¹ The other twenty works occupy a folded sheet each. The Prelude usually takes one side of the *open* sheet—as it were, pp. 2–3; the Fugue takes the other side (pp. 4 and 1). The advantage of this layout is that each movement can be played without turning over; the disadvantage is that the sheets cannot be bound in any ordinary way. This applies to the A \flat major also; and this is why the manuscripts must always have been separate.

This brief description will help to explain the disappearance of three Preludes and Fugues. It was not a question of deliberately tearing six leaves out of a bound volume, but simply of mislaying or giving away three loose sheets.

The pages were usually ruled with fourteen staves, but sometimes with sixteen. When a movement proved to be too long for its allotted space, its final bars were written on extra staves crowded into the margins; sometimes they run on to the other side of the sheet.

There are at least four different watermarks among the manuscripts. Most of them are rather indistinct, and at present I cannot identify them.

* * *

The manuscripts can be traced back to Clementi, but no further. According to Miss Richardson, he "is said to have come across" them in Peter Beckford's library. This would be about 1766–73. The obvious link between Leipzig and England is J. C. Bach; but he is not the only possibility. There was a mysterious J. H. who is said to have visited Bach in 1749 ('Monthly Musical Record', December 1952, p. 256); and there is some reason to believe that a manuscript containing an organ Prelude and Fugue reached England at least some months before J. C. Bach, but has since disappeared ('Music Review', August 1950, p. 171).

¹ The make-up of this manuscript is best understood thus. Take two folded sheets of paper, one larger than the other. Number the pages of the smaller sheet 1–4, and those of the larger sheet 5–8. Paste p. 1 to p. 8; then write the Prelude on pp. 2–4, and the Fugue on pp. 5–7.

In any case, Clementi had access to the manuscript of the C major when he published the 'Second Part of Clementi's Introduction to the Art of playing on the Piano Forte, . . . Containing . . . Two masterly Fugues of Sebastian Bach'. The imprint of this book (Clementi, Collard, Davis and Collard) implies a date between 1819 and 1823 (Kidson); and the watermark date of the Emmett copy (British Museum h.319.e) is 1822.

The Fugues in question are the C major and the C# minor. The former is on p. 120 of Clementi's book, headed "Fuga by J. S. Bach; from an Original MS: of the author". Clementi's text agrees with that of 35021 in every significant detail. Moreover, the English fingering that has been pencilled into the manuscript may well be his. It is sometimes more and sometimes less detailed than that of his printed text; but there is only one substantial disagreement, and at that point (bars 74-5) the printed text looks as if it had been altered.

The C# minor Fugue is on p. 122 of Clementi's book. Its source is not specified, and will not be easy to determine. I do not know whether it was printed from the lost manuscript,² and therefore I do not know whether the manuscript disappeared before or after the publication of Clementi's text.

The twenty-one extant manuscripts, and perhaps the other three as well, were in Clementi's possession when he died (at Evesham, on March 10th 1832). In due course his effects were sold. Miss Richardson says the sale took place at Evesham; but I have not been able to trace it.

From this point onwards the history of the manuscripts can best be followed in Add. MS. 35022, a collection of letters and memoranda put together by Eliza Wesley and bequeathed by her to the British Museum. The relevant portions of it are transcribed below.

As an introduction, the following personal details may be useful. Like my annotations to 35022 itself, they are based partly on Add. MSS. 35013 and 35019, and partly on other sources that will be obvious.

² It is said that the Kirnberger manuscript agrees with 35021 more closely than any other manuscript does. But the Kirnberger manuscript, as described by Kroll and Bischoff, does not agree exactly with the extant portions of 35021; it is therefore not a reliable guide to the readings of the three lost manuscripts. Clementi's text of the C# minor Fugue agrees neither with Kirnberger nor with any of the following editions: Hoffmeister and Kühnel: Simrock (*Écrit par Samfieri*): Nageli: Lavenu (*ante* November 25th 1808): Broderip and Wilkinson (*ante* November 25th 1808): Preston (*post* January 11th 1811): Wesley and Horn (completed 1813): Peters-Boosey (*post* 1816).

I have not seen the Imbault edition (1809) or the first Breitkopf edition (1819).

The dates attached to the Lavenu, Broderip, and Preston editions are deduced from J. T. Lightwood, 'Samuel Wesley, Musician' (1937), p. 128, and from Frank Kidson, 'British Music Publishers' (1900), p. 19.

JOHN GEORGE EMETT (1787-1847) was organist at St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, from about 1830 until Easter 1847. He was then dismissed, in spite of a protest from S. S. Wesley. About 1820 he was living in Ebury Terrace; in 1835 at 20 Bermondsey New Road. He was an old friend of Samuel Wesley's (see, for instance, MUSIC & LETTERS, July 1947, p. 301). Although he was blind by 1832, he was something of a collector, and had a valuable musical library. He was twice married. The spelling "Emmett" is wrong.

SARAH H. EMETT was a daughter of the first Mrs. Emmett's. She was a lifelong friend of Eliza Wesley, with whom, according to Prout, she spent her last years ('Monthly Musical Record', March-April 1896). She died between 1887 and 1895; probably before 1892.

ELIZA WESLEY (1819-May 14th 1895) was a daughter of Samuel Wesley's.

W. S. ROCKSTRO (January 5th 1823-July 2nd 1895) was nineteen when, in Emmett's company, he first met his "beloved master" Mendelssohn in June 1842.

* * *

Add. MS. 35022 consists of twenty-five folios. Folios 1-2 contain only some introductory jottings. Folios 3-6 contain Sarah Emmett's account of the history of the Bach manuscripts. This is in her own hand (vouched for, as will be seen, by Eliza Wesley), and is here transcribed complete.

Miss Emmett's handwriting (E Wesley)

My dear Father Mr J G Emmett, was a Professor of music & an enthusiastic lover of his art, he was blind, and this no doubt made [the words *he . . . made* have been struck out.]

When Clementi's music & affects [sic] were sold he attended the sale, being a great collector of all that was rare or interesting as far as his means allowed[.] I do not remember what he purchased there except some manuscript fugues by a composer named Pachelbel who was I think a contemporary of Bach, together with these were other MS. copies of things published[.] a pile in short, inscribed 'various'[:] among these were the precious MS in question, my Father's infirmity*³ made him dependent on me for information as to the contents of the parcel, I was a very young girl at the time, but knew enough of music to see that these were some of the 48 Preludes and Fugues by J S Bach[.] with which I was familiar from hearing my Father play them, but it never entered his mind or mine either that they were autograph until some little time after I was practising from a book of Clementi's called "The Second Part of

³ [The asterisk appears to have been added by Eliza; it can refer only to her note on folio 7:] *Mr Emmett was blind.

Clementi's Introduction to the Art of playing on the Piano Forte["]. At the end of this book are two of the 48, the one in C. of the second book & one in C \sharp minor—I was trying the one in C. when my Father noticed a different reading to the 'Wesley & Horn' edition,⁴ & enquired more, when I said "he says at the head of the Fugue "From an original MS. of the Author"["] it struck him immediately that the MS. he had bought, *might* be autograph[,] as on comparing the one in C. with the one in Clementi's book we found the identical reading—of course he was greatly excited & rejoiced, and for the satisfying of his doubts took them to Mendelssohn on one of his visits to this country, who immediately pronounced them to be undoubted autographs. My Father was accompanied on that occasion by Mr W. S. Rockströ, who I believe well remembers what passed on that occasion// My Father left his M.S. Organ music & treatises to my half brother his son by a second marriage[;] as this boy was only 9 years old when my Father died [1847] his Mother kept them all carefully locked up till he was of age—when he was desirous of selling them, & I believe when the music &c was sold at Christie's these were bought in.⁵ I was not in London at the time, but a daughter of his Mothers bought them [Clarissa Sarah (Mrs Edward) Clarke], but promised me she would not part with them without letting me know[;] & a few years ago she wrote me word I might have them for what she gave her brother for them but stipulated on retaining *one*. I was at Torquay at the time & my friend Miss Wesley kindly took charge of them for me, as I knew they were as safe in her hands as my own.

FOLIO 7: a brief statement by Eliza, to the effect that she had heard the same story direct from Emmett. She concludes:

Unfortunately when they came into Miss Emmett[s] possession Numbers 4-5-and 12 were missing[,] also a letter from Mendelssohn vouching for their authe[n]ticity—this letter I have seen during Mr Emmett's life time

Eliza Wesley
1892

Note that when Miss Emmett bought the manuscripts from Mrs. Clarke there were in fact *four* missing: Nos. 4, 5 and 12, of which nothing has been heard since, and also No. 9 (E major), which Mrs. Clarke "stipulated on retaining". She sold it to the Museum on October 5th 1896.

FOLIOS 8-9: the remains of a letter from Sarah to Eliza. Much of it has been torn away, presumably by the latter; a few words that escaped the censor suggest an agreeable bit of scandal. The relevant portions read thus:

⁴ [At bar 66. This is not the first difference between the two texts; but it is the first conspicuous one.]

⁵ The sale took place between July 30th 1861 and March 5th 1862; but not at Christie's. I have been unable to trace it, despite the assistance of Messrs. Christie, Puttick & Simpson, Sotheby, the British Museum, and the Victoria and Albert Museum: to all of whom I am nevertheless grateful.

Greystoke
Torquay
June 15th [1879]

My dear Eliza,

I have written to Clarissa [Clarke] & told her that if she will convey the Fugues to Mrs Simmonds on or before Saturday next, you will take charge of them & I will send her the money// I believe she chose the one in C. because it is easier to *read*. also there *may* be more writing on it, but I do not remember—I think if she had 'often told' Papa "he ought to leave the Fugues to" me, she would have got a *quietus*. I am afraid the one in E. is the one you name[.] Did not Mendelssohn play that to us? . . .

Believe me ever
Your affectionate
S H E

Open the MS of *course* when *you* get them[.] I dare say they are all mildewed

FOLIO 10: Mrs. Clarke's receipt, with a penny stamp.

Received of Miss Emmett the sum of Eight pounds for Manu[s]cript
Copies of Twenty Bach's Fugue's Portfolio included//

Clarissa Clarke June 19th 1879

FOLIOS 11-13: another mutilated letter from Sarah to Eliza, of which only the relevant portions are transcribed here. Among the passages omitted there is a reference to the death of the Prince Imperial on June 1st 1879.

Greystoke
Torquay
June 25th [1879]

My dear Eliza,

To close the chapter (as you say) of the purchase of the M.S. I send you Clarissa's receipt which is also characteristic[.] please return it[.] I shall lock it up safely so that there may never be any trouble on *that score*. as to being offended with her want of delicacy &c I might as well quarrel with her for not being able to speak Russian. and she has only done after her kind—so there is an end of *that*, only to *you* I could not resist imparting the little irritation I felt . . . I am writing now in the morning as I may not have time after before post & I wanted to tell you how glad I am to know that the M.S. are in *your* keeping, now I must begin lessons

Believe me ever
Your affectionate
S H Emmett

FOLIOS 14-15: a complete letter from Sarah to Eliza. September 4th was a Thursday in 1879, 1884 and 1890.

Thursday Evening
Sept^r 4th

Dear Lizzie,

After all I have left the Fugues for you to take care of [.] I could

not well squeeze them into my box, & in your case it is the same thing as my having them, I have found the Clementi book & put a mark in the important place⁶ & I should like them kept together, wherever you think best, you know they *will* be yours, the weather does not look promising for tomorrow, if bad I may stay; but I suppose shall be gone any way before you come. Good night God bless you dear Lizzie

Ever your
affectionate old
S H Emmett

FOLIOS 16-19: a letter from W. S. Rockstro to Sarah, addressed from Babbicombe [*sic*], Torquay. The letter is undated, but appears to have been written during 1886. The relevant passages read thus:

I remember perfectly well accompanying Mr Emmett⁷ to Mendelssohn's house (i.e. the house at wh he was staying as a visitor) at Denmark Hill, in June, 1842, & I know it was either on the 13th, 14th, or 15th, of the month; but I cannot be sure wh of the three days. Mendelssohn recognized the hand-writing of the Bach MS (wh we took with us) instantly; with as little hesitation as if it had been his own. I carried the MS, in a portfolio; & I remember, quite well, that it was thick, & heavy. My impression at the time was, that it was complete, or nearly so; & I have always, since then, believed this to have been the case. I also distinctly remember another circumstance wh tends to strengthen this impression; viz: that Mr Emmett bought the MS at a sale, & that one of his reasons for doing so was, that he had not a copy of the XLVIII at the time, & very much wanted one. Now, under these circumstances, he wd scarcely have cared to buy a very incomplete copy, *for use*.

I have mentioned the circumstances in my '*Life of Mendelssohn*' [1884], at pp. 83-84 . . . I am mentioning it again, in my large '*General History of Music*' [1886; p. 354] wh I hope will be out by the end of the year; & in this, I shd, if you will kindly permit me the pleasure, very much like to insert Mr Emmett's name, in the Chronological Table of Musicians who have done good service to Art. If you do not object to this, will you, please, kindly send me the dates of his birth & death in time for me to insert them? . . .

FOLIOS 20-23: two more letters from Rockstro to Sarah (undated, but later), which add nothing to the information already given, except that Mendelssohn was staying at "Mr. Benecke's house".

FOLIO 24: a letter from Frederick Westlake to Sarah, dated July 30th 1887. He says he is sending her "the present number of the Dictionary of Music", which contains his article on the Bach manuscripts (Grove, first edition, IV. 483). His article shows that he had examined the twenty manuscripts in Sarah's possession, and also the E major, then "in the possession of Mrs. Clarke of

⁶ [There is an ink mark in the margin of p. 120, to draw attention to the heading of the C major Fugue; and the Wesley-and-Horn reading has been pencilled in at bar 66.]

⁷ [Rockstro always spells the name thus.]

Norwood". He gives one additional piece of information: "in or about 1855" Sterndale Bennett had examined the manuscripts and accepted them as autograph.⁸

FOLIO 25: a final statement by Eliza, in her own hand. The Clementi book she refers to is in the British Museum (h.319.e), and has been mentioned above.

The bound book with the "Bach MSS["] (2nd part of Clementi's Introduction to the Art of Pf^{te} playing) contains the Fugue at page 120 that caused the enquiry of these being Autograph "MSS"—at that time they were in my possession—the gift of Mr Emett to me,—Mendelssohn's un-hesitating opinion of their authenticity rendered them no longer mine.—

Miss Emett bequeathed them to me and in placing them in the safe keeping of the British Museum—I fulfil her wish with my own.

Eliza Wesley

The story told by Rockstro in his book on Mendelssohn has been partly quoted and partly summarized by Miss Richardson in *MUSIC & LETTERS*, January 1953, p. 39. He retold it, in almost the same words, in his *General History* (p. 354). It does not agree in every detail with Sarah's story (folios 3-6, above); and Eliza's final statement (folio 25) is different again. Considering the lapse of time, these discrepancies are only to be expected. They can be reconciled by supposing that Emett gave the manuscripts to Eliza during the 1830s; that she returned them to him after the episode of the C major Fugue, when it first occurred to him that they might be autograph; and that they were thus again in his library when Rockstro visited him in 1842.

Samuel Sebastian Wesley was present at the Emett sale in 1861-62. He told Sarah that the manuscripts were bought for £5; at the time he had not known that the purchaser was acting for her brother. Wesley doubted the authenticity of the manuscripts; chiefly, it appears, because Sterndale Bennett believed in them.

One point must be stressed. Sarah bought the manuscripts from Mrs. Clarke, for the same price that *Mrs. Clarke* said she had paid for them; but *bequeathed* them to Eliza. In March 1896 Prout stated that Eliza died in the autumn of 1895, instead of May; and that Sarah *sold* the manuscripts to Eliza for the same price that *Emett* had paid for them. Prout's mistakes have been repeated; not, it is to be feared, for the last time.

* * *

There is only one type of evidence that is of any use for determining the authenticity of 35021: that of the handwriting. Such

⁸ According to F. G. Edwards ('Musical Times', February 1896, p. 88), Moscheles also had accepted the MSS. as autograph. Edwards gave no authority for this statement.

evidence is difficult to present. Some of the following descriptions are true in a general way, but not universally; with all attempts to describe handwriting, this is inevitable. Similarly, the illustrations serve only to draw attention to significant points; in themselves, they do not prove the conclusions put forward below. It is impossible to assess the authenticity of 35021 without obtaining photographs of the manuscripts and comparing them with the facsimiles listed at the end of this article; and there are some questions that can only be answered by examining the manuscripts themselves.

Judged by their handwriting, the manuscripts fall into two groups. Group A consists of the Preludes and Fugues in C minor, D minor, E major and G major, with the first page of the Prelude in F. Group B consists of the rest of the F major, all the other Preludes and Fugues, and probably the marginal additions to the D minor and E major Preludes.

The manuscripts of Group B were evidently written by the same person and at more or less the same date. I have chosen the A♭ major Fugue as an example (Fig. 1), because it can be compared with the Berlin autograph of the same work (Fig. 2). Outside the British Museum, this Berlin manuscript (P 274) is the only manuscript of any movement in Part II of the Forty-Eight that is now accepted as autograph.⁹ Its authenticity has never been questioned, as far as I know; not even by Spitta.

If Bach wrote Fig. 2, clearly he wrote Fig. 1 also; and it follows that Group B is autograph. These manuscripts show all the characteristics of fair copies (as distinct from sketches) made by Bach after about 1735. They have been tampered with to some extent—for instance, the heading of Fig. 1 has been clumsily altered, and numbers have been added to the headings of this and other Fugues—but these matters do not come within the scope of this article.

As I shall show, the manuscripts of Group A are not autograph; but as some of their peculiarities could be explained by supposing that Bach wrote them ten or twenty years before those of Group B, it is necessary to describe some of the changes in Bach's writing from about 1725 onwards. The points that are significant for the present purpose are the C-clefs and the formation of the downstem notes.

The C-clefs in Figs. 1, 3, 7 and 11 are of a type that Bach began to use soon after 1720. The earliest examples known to me are in the *Clavierbüchlein* of 1722. From about 1725 onwards this type is commoner than any other, to judge by the published facsimiles and such unpublished material as I have had occasion to consult.

⁹ The list of "autographs" in Schmieder's *Index* and the remarks in Hinrichsen's 'Music Book' VII, p. 304, are out of date.

In autographs with which I am acquainted there are three other types of C-clef. One of these disappears soon after 1720, and is not illustrated here. The other two are variant forms of a clef that was not uncommon in engraved music of the period. A calligraphic variant occurs in certain early autographs (1708-23), in the later parts of the full score of the B minor Mass ("Et in unum" onwards), and in some of the 'Eighteen' Chorale-Preludes (Fig. 4). A formal variant occurs in the "Credo" of the Mass, and among the corrections made by Bach in the French Overture (British Museum K.8.g.7, pp. 16, 24. See Fig. 5). I do not know of any example of this clef earlier than c.1735; but I do not say that there are none.

In the manuscripts of Group B I have noticed only two C-clefs that are not of the type shown in Fig. 1. The two exceptions are of the formal type shown in Fig. 5. One occurs at the end of the second line of the F major Fugue; the other corrects a treble clef at the beginning of the eighth line of the G minor Fugue. In such situations it was not unusual for Bach to form clefs with unusual care.

The formation of downstem notes was a matter over which Bach never took much trouble in his sketches; but in his fair copies he became more careful as he grew older. Until about 1720, a high proportion of such notes have their stems either centred or on the wrong side. In the autograph of the Organ Sonatas (c.1730; see Figs. 3, 6) the minims are almost always wrong, but the shorter notes are usually right; and much the same is true of the full scores of the 'St. Matthew Passion' and the "Kyrie" and "Gloria" of the Mass. But from the "Credo" of the Mass onwards the minim stems are usually centred; and in the "Eighteen" Chorale-Preludes (Fig. 4) and the six-part Ricercar of the 'Musical Offering', many of the minims are right, and almost all the others have centred stems. Very few are definitely wrong. In the manuscripts of Group B downstems are treated as in 'The Eighteen' and the Ricercar.

The chief differences between Group A and Group B can be summed up under the following headings: the treatment of downstems: the density of the writing: the C-clefs: the time-signatures: and the treatment of the group dotted-quaver-semiquaver. The first three points are illustrated in Figs. 10 and 11. Fig. 10 (Group A) shows the first bars of the F major Prelude. Fig. 11, chosen because it is largely a repetition of Fig. 10, is taken from the third page of this Prelude (Group B).

The difference in the treatment of downstems needs no pointing out, even in these short examples; but to realize its full significance one has to examine the whole Prelude. In the first page there are thirty-one downstem minims, of which all but two are wrong. In

the second and third pages there are fifty-three downstem minims, of which none is wrong.

To appreciate the difference in the density of the writing one has again to examine the whole Prelude. It contains 72 bars. The seven ruled lines of the first page contain $18\frac{2}{3}$ bars: of the second page, $24\frac{2}{3}$ bars: of the third page, $27\frac{2}{3}$. (Total, 71 bars; bar 72 is a marginal addition to the third page.) The lines of the second and third pages are slightly longer than those of the first page; but the difference (about one-twentieth) is far too small to account for the larger number of bars.

The C-clefs of Fig. 11 occur throughout the second and third pages of this Prelude. They are tall and narrow, quite unlike the squat form in the first bar of Fig. 10. The nearest parallels to the latter that I remember having seen in autograph fair copies occur in the G minor Fugue, line 2, and in the "Osanna" of the Mass at p. 178 of the full score; but even in these the vertical strokes are as long as the stave is wide, whereas in Fig. 10 the vertical strokes would cover only four lines of the stave.

The second clef in Fig. 10 is of a type that does not occur in any unquestionable autograph known to me. It resembles Fig. 4, but can be distinguished by its short verticals and its general appearance of stiffness and disjointedness. In the first page of the F major Prelude all the other C-clefs are of this type.

From this discussion it will be apparent that something happened at the end of the first page of this Prelude. The change in the treatment of downstems might mean only that Bach wrote the first page some years before the rest of the Prelude. The change in the density of the writing might mean only that he suddenly realized that he was taking up too much room. The change in the clefs might mean only that some member of his household prepared the first page for him, by writing in clefs, before he began to copy the notes. But it is too much to suppose that all three of these things happened. As I shall show, there is a simple explanation; but for the moment it will be convenient to see how far the characteristics of this first page of the F major Prelude reappear in the other manuscripts of Group A.

The treatment of downstems is pretty uniform. The proportion of correctly-formed notes is lower than in Group B, and improbably low for autograph fair copies after about 1730. I shall not give figures for crotchets and shorter notes, because the heads of such notes are comparatively small, and one cannot always be sure whether the stems were meant to be centred. With minims it is possible to be precise. The E major Fugue (Group A) contains ninety-

six downstem minims, of which all but six are wrong. The B major Fugue (Group B) contains ninety-three downstem minims, none of which is wrong.

It is impossible to give figures for the density of the writing, for there are no extant autographs with which to compare the C minor, D minor, E major and G major.

The first clef in Fig. 10 reappears in the first bars of the C minor and D minor Preludes (Fig. 17); also in the last whole line of the E major Prelude and, in distorted forms, in three other lines of the D minor Prelude. All these examples are at the beginnings of lines. In lines 5 and 6 of the D minor Prelude the scribe began by writing bass clefs, discovered the mistakes, and inserted two more C-clefs of this type. These corrective clefs have rather longer vertical strokes than the typical squat form of Fig. 10.

The second clef in Fig. 10 occurs at the beginning of every line in Group A except those just mentioned. In the G major Prelude there are two exceptional clefs, one in the middle of line 3, and another correcting a bass clef at the beginning of line 4. These are best described as combinations of the two types shown in Fig. 10. Another exceptional clef occurs at the end of line 4 in the D minor Prelude.

In discussing the F major Prelude I remarked that the Group A clefs of the first page might have been written in by some member of the Bach household, if it were not that all the characteristics of this manuscript change at the same point. This possibility—that Bach wrote the notes, after someone else had prepared the manuscript for him by writing in clefs—is equally unsatisfying in the Prelude in C minor, and the Fugues in C minor, D minor and G major. These movements do not occupy the whole of their allotted two pages, and are followed by blank staves. As no one could have known beforehand how many staves Bach would use, these clefs were most probably written by the same person who wrote the notes. This can be seen most clearly in line 6 of the D minor Prelude where, as I have said, a bass clef has been corrected. In this case the scribe realized the mistake before the bass clef itself had been completed. It is hardly credible that such a correction could have been made beforehand; the scribe must surely have been writing clefs in, line by line, as required. Much the same can be said of the three exceptional clefs mentioned above. The second of them, which corrects a bass clef at the beginning of a line, comes under the same heading as the corrective clefs in the D minor Prelude. The first and third of these exceptional clefs, from their positions, cannot possibly have been written in beforehand.

In autographs, inserted clefs like these are sometimes abnormal; they may be distorted, to save space, or on the other hand they may be written with unusual care. This, however, will not account for the three exceptional clefs in Group A. In Group B, the inserted clefs are of well-recognized autograph types; two, above remarked on, are of the formal type shown in Fig. 5, and the rest resemble Fig. 1. Those of Group A are different. The two in the G major Prelude are variants not of autograph clef-forms, but of the two forms shown in Fig. 10. The clef in line 4 of the D minor Prelude is no doubt a variant of Fig. 5, but it is so feebly written that one hesitates to ascribe it to Bach.

Another difference between Groups A and B, which does not show in the F major Prelude, concerns those time-signatures that include a C or a figure 4. Fig. 16 is typical of Group A: the C minor Prelude and the Fugues in C minor, D minor and E major. Fig. 1 is typical of Group B. Similarly, Fig. 17 is typical of Group A: the Preludes in D minor, E major and G major. Fig. 7 is typical of Group B.

Finally, Groups A and B differ in their treatment of such figuration as dotted-quaver-semiquaver and semiquaver-plus-quaver-plus-semiquaver. This difference does not lend itself to exact description. One can only record an impression that Bach tried to write such groups tidily, but did not always succeed; whereas the writer of Group A made no attempt to be tidy. Compare Fig. 7 (Group B) with Fig. 15 (Group A).

It will be observed that the differences between Groups A and B are consistent. In any manuscript of Group B, most of the downstem notes are correctly formed: the clefs and time-signatures are typical of Bach's late fair copies; and dotted-quaver groups, if any, are fairly tidily written. In any manuscript of Group A fewer of the downstem notes are correctly formed; the clefs and time-signatures are abnormal; and dotted-quaver groups are untidily written. Examination of 35021 as a whole, and comparison with the available facsimiles, leaves one in no doubt either that Group B was written by Bach or that Group A was written by someone else.

As it happens, this person can be identified; for the peculiarities of Group A can be matched in manuscripts written by Anna Magdalena Bach. Figs. 8, 9 (from Organ Sonata V, in the MS. P 272)¹⁰ and 12-14 (from the 'Notebook' of 1725, MS. P 225) must

¹⁰ The first 36 pages of P 272 were written by W. F. Bach; the rest by Anna. Spitta realized this (English edition III. 212, note 397; German edition II. 692, note 178); but his remarks have not received the attention they deserve, and Anna's part of this MS. was exhibited as autograph at Göttingen in 1950 (Documenta, No. 29). This MS. will be discussed at length in my forthcoming 'Notes on Bach's Organ Works', Books IV-V.

serve as specimens of her writing. Her treatment of downstems is illustrated in Figs. 8, 9, 12 and 14. As for the density of her writing, it is well known that she did not share her husband's views on paper-saving. The squat first clef of Fig. 10 has parallels in the wide clefs of P 272 (Fig. 9), as also in Anna's copy of the French Overture (P 226, not illustrated here). The second clef of Fig. 10, and the time-signatures of Figs. 16 and 17, are typical of Anna's writing in the 'Notebook' of 1725 (Figs. 12-14); and similar clefs occur in P 272 (Fig. 8) and in the Violoncello Suites. The exceptional clef in line 4 of the D minor Prelude has a fairly close parallel in Violoncello Suite VI, at the top of the second page of the Prelude. Finally, for Anna's treatment of the group dotted-quaver-semiquaver see Fig. 12.

The peculiarities of the F major Prelude can now be explained without difficulty. Anna began to copy this movement; but at the end of the first page she realized that in her writing the Prelude would occupy the remaining three pages of the sheet. She accordingly called in her husband, who compressed not only the rest of the Prelude, but also the whole of the Fugue, into the allotted space; though even he had to resort to marginal additions.

The origin of the marginal additions to the other manuscripts of Group A is less easy to determine, since the writing is cramped and cannot be expected to be typical either of Bach or of Anna. From the clefs and downstems, however, it seems likely that it was Bach who added the last two bars of the E major Prelude, but Anna who added the last bar of the E major Fugue. The last bars of the Prelude involve high notes on leger lines above the right-hand stave; the last bar of the Fugue is more compact, and was therefore easier to fit in. Moreover, it is probable that when the manuscript was written the margin at the end of the Fugue was wider than that at the end of the Prelude. For one or both of these reasons, Anna may have thought it advisable to call her husband in for the Prelude, but not for the Fugue.

The D minor Prelude has an interesting history. Its earliest version has been preserved in the manuscript P 1089, which was formerly supposed to be autograph, but was probably written by Kellner or some member of his circle. The second version is represented by the text that Anna copied into 35021. This text was then revised in certain details, and also by the addition of several bars. I doubt whether the maker of the minor corrections can be identified; but it was probably Bach who wrote the additional bars into the margin.

I conclude that most of the manuscripts in 35021 were

written by Bach, but some of them by Anna. She was responsible for the Preludes and Fugues in C minor, D minor (before revision), E major (except perhaps the last bars of the Prelude), G major, and the first page of the F major Prelude. Bach finished the F major, wrote all the other Preludes and Fugues, and was probably responsible for the marginal additions to the D minor Prelude and for the last bars of the E major Prelude.

* * *








It is time to return to Rothschild's book, 'The Lost Tradition in Music', and the rumours it has given rise to. Rothschild's object is to show that the time-signature of a work combines with the prevailing note-values to specify the metronomic rate and the number of beats in the bar. No doubt this is true of much music written before 1750; the subject is discussed in various textbooks of the period, as Dannreuther and Dolmetsch pointed out long ago. But for practical purposes it is true only in a vague and general sense. The textbooks are often imprecise; for instance, one author says that a semibreve should be held "as long as you can moderately tell four, by saying one, two, three, four" (Dolmetsch, p. 33). They also contradict one another (Rothschild, pp. 55, 75). But with time-signatures as with ornaments, the most serious difficulty is that no one will ever know which of the textbooks Bach agreed with—if any.

There is no hope of arriving at the truth about Bach's time-signatures simply by studying contemporary textbooks; it is essential to study Bach's habits as well. In this part of his work Rothschild has been incautious. For his purpose the only valid evidence is that of Bach's autographs; even the original editions are to some extent suspect. As Rothschild frequently remarks on the possibility of corruption by copyists and nineteenth-century editors, it is disconcerting to find that he quotes from a number of works that are extant neither in autographs nor even in original editions. Still more disconcerting is his high-handed treatment of the prefaces to Bach-Gesellschaft XXII and XXIII, in which Rust concluded that Bach made no distinction between the barred and the unbarred common-time-signature. It may be that Rust was wrong; but until he has been proved wrong his conclusion will remain an insuperable obstacle to any theory involving a definite relationship between time-signatures and metronomic rates in Bach's music. Rothschild makes no attempt to prove anything; he simply holds Rust up to derision as yet another unscrupulous editor (pp. 196-97).¹¹

It is on such foundations as these that Rothschild has erected his

¹¹ At this point Rothschild translates a passage from one of Rust's prefaces. It comes from Bach-Ges. XXII—not XXIII.

theory, according to which the following Fugues of Part II should have time-signatures differing from those of 35021:

	Rothschild	35021
E♭ major	Alla Breve C	
D♯ minor		C
E major	{ Double-barred C, or  	
F♯ minor		C
A♭ major		C

Because the time-signatures of 35021 do not agree with his theory, Rothschild explicitly queries the authenticity of the manuscript of the E♭ Fugue (p. 194, note); and implicitly, by "correcting" their time-signatures, he queries the authenticity of the other manuscripts as well (pp. 250-52).

The authenticity of a manuscript cannot be disproved by reasoning of this kind. Even if Rothschild's theory is right, it follows only that five time-signatures in 35021 are wrong. The question then arises, Who made the mistakes? And it can be answered only by examining the handwriting. In each of these five cases the handwriting gives a definite answer: the E major Fugue was written by Anna, the others by Bach.

The time-signature of the E major is typical of Anna, and it has not been altered since she wrote it. Before assuming that she made a mistake or a deliberate alteration one should remember that she was a good copyist, as copyists go, and was not at all inclined to "improve" her husband's work. Moreover, it cannot safely be said that this time-signature is unparalleled in Bach. The Fugue has four minims in a bar, and begins with a semibreve.¹² In the 'Dritter Theil der Clavierübung' there are two similar movements. The six-part prelude on 'Aus tiefer Noth' has barred C as signature, the first part of the 'St. Anne' Fugue has C unbarred. There are no autographs of these works, and original editions are admittedly second-rate evidence; but the text of the 'Dritter Theil' is better authenticated than many of those that Rothschild has been content to quote, and, as it is remarkably accurate in every other way, there is no good reason to question any of its time-signatures (except that of the 'St. Anne', which should perhaps be barred C). It is in the light of these facts that one has to consider Rothschild's assertion that the barred C signature of the E major, "already showing the influence of the Style Galant, must be of later origin" (p. 195).

¹² I have not yet grasped all the implications of Rothschild's theory; but I gather that the length of the first note is a matter of some importance.

As for the other four¹³ signatures, they are autograph; and they have not been altered in the ways required by Rothschild's theory. The words "Alla Breve" have not been erased from the heading of the E \flat major, and vertical strokes have not been erased from the signatures of the other three Fugues. Such alterations could not have been made without leaving traces; and there are no such traces in the manuscripts. The signatures of these four Fugues are no doubt wrong in the sense that they do not agree with Rothschild's theory; but they are right in the sense that they are what Bach wrote.

Whether Bach made four mistakes, or there are four flaws in Rothschild's theory, it is not my business to decide; for this article is concerned with the authenticity of Add. MS. 35021, a question on which Rothschild's theory, whether right or wrong, has no bearing whatsoever.

KEY TO THE ILLUSTRATIONS

- Fig. 1. Add. 35021: Fugue in A \flat major.
 2. Berlin MS. P 274: Fugue in A \flat major. Autograph.
 3. Berlin MS. P 271, p. 15: Finale of Organ Sonata II, bars 31-3. Autograph.
 4. Berlin MS. P 271, p. 60: 'Komm heiliger Geist,' bars 61-2. Autograph.
 5. British Museum K.8.g.7, p. 16: French Overture. Manuscript correction by Bach.
 6. Berlin MS. P 271, p. 7: Finale of Organ Sonata I. Autograph.
 7. Add. 35021: Prelude in F \sharp major.
 8. Berlin MS. P 272, p. 50: First movement of Organ Sonata V, bar 5. Anna Magdalena Bach.
 9. Berlin MS. P. 272, p. 51: the same, bar 22. Anna.
 10. Add. 35021: Prelude in F major, beginning.
 11. Add. 35021: the same, third page, bars 56-63.
 12. Berlin MS. P 225 (the 'Notebook' of 1725), p. 86: Allemande of French Suite I, bars 7-10. Anna.
 13. The same, first bar. Anna.
 14. The same MS., p. 92: Menuet II of French Suite I. Anna.
 15. Add. 35021: Fugue in D minor, line 7.
 16. Add. 35021: Fugue in C minor.
 17. Add. 35021: Prelude in D minor.

NOTES ON FACSIMILES

Bach-Gesellschaft XLIV contains specimens of Bach's writing from 1708 to 1747 or later. Some of the dates are misleading, if not actually

¹³ I here disregard the signature of Fig. 2—a fifth error, if Rothschild is to be trusted—because I have not seen the MS. P 274 itself. But I believe that the signature remains as Bach wrote it; I do not see how the necessary erasure could have been made without leaving traces that would show in a photograph. If I am right in this, it follows that Bach gave the A \flat major Fugue an unbarred C signature on two separate occasions. This does not encourage one to believe that C is wrong.

wrong. Plates 48-50 are in an unidentified hand: most of 142 is said to be in Altnikol's hand: 43-47 certainly, and 14-16 probably, are in Anna's.

The facsimile of the Violoncello Suites (Hinrichsen) is published as autograph, but is in fact something much more useful—an extensive specimen of Anna's writing. See 'Documenta', pp. 15, 110.

Between them these two publications cover most of the points made in this article; but the following supplementary material may be useful: the Brandenburg Concertos (Peters): the Inventions (Hinrichsen & Peters): the St. Matthew Passion and B minor Mass (Insel-Verlag): the works for unaccompanied violin (Bärenreiter): and the organ Prelude and Fugue in B minor (Heffer). In this last, the right- and left-hand music pages have been interchanged, and the bibliographical information supplied by O. E. Deutsch in the postscript is incomplete; but otherwise this is probably more reliable than the Universal-Edition "facsimile" of the same work, in which Bach has been corrected by the block-maker.

As for unpublished material, the Berlin MSS. P 225, P 271 and P 272 are represented in the illustrations above. P 226 (Anna's copy of the French Overture) repays examination; unfortunately, it is not suitable for reproduction.

Half-diameter positive photostats of Add. 35021—the same size as the illustrations to this article—can be obtained from the British Museum at about 4s. per Prelude and Fugue. For photographs of unpublished MSS., apply first to Dr. W. Virneisel, Öffentliche Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, Berlin N.W.7, Unter den Linden 8.

I am indebted to him, to Dr. Martin Cremer (Westdeutsches Bibliothek, Marburg/Lahn), to Herr von Reibnitz (Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen), and to the Trustees of the British Museum, for photographic material and permission to reproduce; also to Dr. B. Schofield and Mr. A. Hyatt King, for much friendly assistance.

BRITTEN AND BRITTENITES

BY PETER TRANCHELL

BENJAMIN BRITTEN is still under forty years of age. Is this the right time in his life for the publication of a biography and a study of his works? The question is raised by the appearance of a stout book of 410 pages: 'Benjamin Britten: a commentary on his works by a group of specialists, edited by Donald Mitchell and Hans Keller' (London, Rockliff, 1952, 30s.). With interpretative talent the position is different: the most valuable accounts are those of eye-witnesses, those who actually saw the manner of the great actor or heard the style of the great violinist and recorded their impressions forthwith. But the composer's significance to the world is something different. The reaction of a man to music composed in his own time is merely a question of taste, no matter how erudite he may be. The most reasonable and scholarly procedure with such music is an analysis and description of its structure and content, without any opinion on its ultimate value. The serious appraisal of a creative artist's work must be left to posterity.

Yes, but that does not altogether rule out an interim judgement. The ultimate evaluation of Britten's music is our grandchildren's concern; but this music was, after all, written to appeal to our ears. Posterity's verdict is of no use to us; and while our opinion of Britten is, in the nature of things, only provisional, it is, after all, that of the people for whom his music was written. In 1840 Spohr was a great composer, and the reaction of his living audience was the real critique, not the sneers of generations to follow. A composer who writes for any ears other than those of his contemporaries is a romantical egoist and a foolish visionary as well. On this basis the spirit of the new Mitchell-Keller book must be approved. It is not final—it does not set out to be. Britten, so in effect the book says, is a great composer—now. It is now that matters to us.

Another thing to be said before holes are picked in it is a word of congratulation to the publishers on its production, as regards both the type of the letterpress and the exquisite clarity of the many musical examples which adorn nearly every page.

Now to consider the contributions individually. The Earl of Harewood starts the ball rolling with a biographical sketch. At once we are aware of a dilemma. Lord Harewood's being a close friend is a factor not altogether favourable to his qualifications for giving us a faithful picture of the composer.

The appreciation of a man's music is often aided by information outside purely musical considerations. The appeal of Berlioz's music, for instance, may gain from what we have been told of his stormy adolescence with its bizarre adventures. Lord Harewood's article informs us that his composer was born in 1913; became musical very early; then took in his stride a preparatory school, Frank Bridge, Gresham's and the R.C.M. We read that he was a Communist during the Spanish civil war and a pacifist during the second World War; that he went to America, came back and now lives according to the following daily routine: Rises at 6 a.m., composes until lunch-time with only a short pause for breakfast; goes sea-fishing or bird-watching in the afternoon, or plays lawn-tennis or entertains his neighbours. But these are mere milestones on a road obviously crowded with other and more important experiences of which we are not told. What of the most important things in a man's life? To have gone into more detail might have embarrassed the subject; but we leave this carefully uninformative article with a sense of disappointment that good breeding and discretion should have got the better of candour.

One of Lord Harewood's paragraphs invites discussion. It is that which refers to Britten's "intensely professional attitude to music", which is said to account for his "acute impatience of hostile criticism". The paragraph goes on to rationalize this impatience. Britten, we read, hates his own—or anyone else's—motives to be misunderstood and his music, therefore, to be criticized from a false point of view. Is this a scholarly or a sensible attitude? Everyone is impatient of hostile criticism—some people because they despise the critic or know him to be wrong, others because they have a sense of inferiority and fear him to be right. But to suggest that a profound, logical, idealistical process is gone through to arrive at this impatience is an exaggeration. In music what is important is the effect—the effect upon a listener during performance. The composer's intention is irrelevant. If he intended a certain result and gained it, then well and good; but if he failed to gain that result then he has made a mistake or his technique is at fault. The listener cannot be expected to hear a work otherwise than how he actually does hear it, merely because the composer intended something different. In point of fact, no properly written music can be criticized from a wrong point of view, for it has in it its own inescapable clue to the correct standpoint. Lord Harewood fails to make clear that Britten resents criticism not of his own actual music but of other matters.

If a composer calls his piece a passacaglia and it bears no

relation to what in current parlance a passacaglia is, then he must expect comment on that score. Now Britten's "realizations" of the accompaniments to Purcell's songs, his re-hashing of 'The Beggar's Opera' and of 'Dido and Æneas'—these are the subjects, I suggest, which have aroused most of the hostile criticism so annoying to the composer. But is it not Britten's fault—or his publisher's—in using a word in a sense which is not that commonly accorded it? Again, to talk of a composer's motives in writing the music of an opera is meaningless. Either an opera is dramatic and moving, whether sad or gay, or it is not. No amount of Shavian prolegomena will alter that. The fact that symbolism lies behind the plot, or that experiments in form or style are contained in the music—such things are of no dramatic concern unless they definitely contribute to the dramatic effect.

The rest of the substantial book consists of some twenty chapters about the different categories of Britten's work, sandwiched between two surprising articles by the editors, Donald Mitchell and Hans Keller. Peter Pears writes ably on the vocal music, giving a pleasantly annotated catalogue of the songs and song-sequences. He inclines to attribute absolute virtue to economy, irrespective of context or purpose. It is as well to remember that economy is not always the same thing as beauty, and may be necessitated merely by bankruptcy. George Malcolm writes next on the Purcell realizations—an angry little article which says, in effect, that Britten's realizations are not realizations in the ordinary sense of the word, and that anyone who does not immediately take to the new meaning of the word is a dullard. But is not the very idea that it is correct to write out (and print) a realization, instead of spontaneously improvising it at the keyboard, misleading? And is it serious to say, as Mr. Malcolm does, that "a continuo should be worked out at the keyboard and in terms of keyboard technique"? Worked out! As if one should sit down before the performance poring over the music and working it out! What an approach to the self-respecting musician's art of improvisation! And consider the second phrase: "in terms of keyboard technique". Has anyone ever suggested that a keyboard continuo should be realized in terms of, say, violin technique? or of any other than keyboard technique? Britten's arrangements of Purcell are re-compositions, and should be so entitled. "Realization" is a word that means something else and, since it is tending to become a jargon word, it is hardly candid to use it when it simply is inappropriate.

Hans Redlich writes next on Britten's choral music. Here is an example of his verbiage: "The cycle 'Five Flower Songs' is the

work of a consummate virtuoso of composition, less genuinely inspired than 'A Boy was Born', but of unsurpassed mastery in the use of every possible formal device towards the greatest variety of structure and colour within narrow madrigalian limits." What apparently Dr. Redlich really means is that the work with less musical inspiration in it has more technical tricks. It is, he means, a nice piece of note-knitting. But by the end of the sentence he has conveyed the suggestion that the more musical work is only just passable, while the less musical one is preferable by reason of its cleverness. This is accomplished by the use of jargon phrases, "formal device", "variety of structure", "colour" and "narrow limits". In another connection Dr. Redlich cites an example which, he says, "proves that the eighteen-year-old composer had a remarkably clear conception of a new piano style, in that it avoids cloying post-romantic clusters of harmonies and excels in the athletic simultaneity of a motif of piled-up fifths and its augmentation". The example follows, as nice a piece of note-knitting as one could wish. But, passing over the suspect character of such phrases as "clear conception", "new style" and "athletic simultaneity", let us consider the words, "a remarkably clear conception of a new piano style". Does this imply that Britten deliberately adopted a style of composition that was in reality not basically natural to him (or to the piano), following in the wake of Hindemith's equally spare "contrapuntal contours"? I suspect that Dr. Redlich did not mean it so. The phrase "cloying post-romantic clusters of harmonies" is interesting. People who have defective ears, or who are defective in that portion of the brain which analyses and comprehends musical sounds, are naturally averse to music that makes complicated demands on the capacity they do not possess. But I do not believe Dr. Redlich is in the least tone-deaf. He is here obviously attempting to pay a compliment to Britten by disparaging so-called post-romantic music; and his use of derogatory jargon is only too evident. "Cloying . . .", he says, forgetting that this remarkably unstable word requires to be used in a particular context and is applicable as an expression of personal taste rather than as a scholastic pronouncement, while, in his aversion to "clusters of harmonies", he fails to observe that a cluster of contrary rhythms or a cluster of any subtleties after the Britten model may be quite as reprehensible. In this connection I would remark that Britten is just as prone to lay it on with a trowel (though I do not say this is a bad thing) as the Romantics. If they had their harmony, he, for his part, will not leave well alone with device. If he can he will have a conflicting counter-subject, or a far-fetched harmonization of a melody; and

this sort of prodigality of clever ideas in composition invites censure just as does any other form of excess.

The best articles now follow: Arthur Oldham's and Erwin Stein's on 'Peter Grimes', Norman del Mar's on 'The Rape of Lucretia', 'Albert Herring' and 'The Beggar's Opera'. They are sensible, interesting and easy to read. I recommend musicians to omit the previous pages and start with these. Mr. Stein's article on 'Billy Budd' is the apogee of the book. It attempts to prove nothing, nor does it employ that illegitimate form of musical comparison which seeks to elevate one composer by airily traducing another. It simply points out in a nobly dispassioned way the items of interest in the opera, leaving the summing-up to the reader. Excellent!

Paul Hamburger writes next on the chamber music. He starts quite fairly with general remarks such as this about sonata form: "To the classical demand for strict *integration* in this form has been added a demand for formal, tonal, if not indeed motivic *progression* in the course of a work, of such refined, and quite unprogrammatic, sensitivity that the composer must needs consider each new 'sonata' a special case whose form has to be re-created according to the requirements of the material". But after this truism—which, anyway, applies to all modern music—he goes in for being pseudo-musicological. Themes are labelled, and he revels in formulae which are fatiguing if not inscrutable. He tells us, for instance, that "the complete (a) in section A and in the coda is a clearing station between the almost impersonal molecules of the work and the themes that are derived from (a) itself. This clears section A of any duplicity: all later developments of it can be definitely, though perhaps unconsciously, heard as either pre- or post-principal subject". Fascinating! And there is more to learn. On p. 218 appears a modulation map. It looks like a design for central heating or a diagram of the human blood-stream, and is as beautifully contrived as the Hampton Court maze.

Boyd Neel writes on the works for string orchestra, and there are chapters on the symphonies, the concertos and the piano music. An article by Georges Auric on Britten's piano works reads like a publisher's dust-cover announcement. The really critical survey of the music in this category is contributed by A. E. F. Dickinson. A rather comical turn follows. Imogen Holst expatiates on Britten and the Young in a manner she must have learnt from Walford Davies. "... the fluttering grace-notes of the two flutes chase each other up to the sudden piercing trill of the piccolo, the oboes' expressive *pp* alternates with a passionate *ff*, and the clarinets' agile arpeggios

blossom into a mellow *rallentando*". I am tempted to try my hand at this sort of thing. "But see! Lurking behind yonder bush of autumnal semiquavers, and wearing a dark tritone with a yellow feather in it, we perceive the sinister bassoon. Ah, what does this fierce growling foretell? But with a strident *rubato* he bursts forth, scattering the timid double-basses to left and to right, and plunges into an icy melisma that finishes up at the extreme edge of a perilous *sforzando*." But Miss Holst forestalls parody. Here she writes: "The xylophone's chromatic contribution encourages the strings to play *col legno*." Really? Was not the indication marked in the violin parts? I hasten on to Lennox Berkeley's chapter on the light music, a short but interesting piece of writing, and to William Mann's on the incidental music, which, too, is a cut above some of the contributions to the book. The volume ends with a list of gramophone records, their qualities described by Desmond Shawe-Taylor.

Now I must say something that has been troubling me all along. To what part of the public is the book addressed? I come to the conclusion it is addressed to no one: it is simply a labour of love. On the one hand it is hardly up to the standard of a text-book; on the other hand, the elaborate style of the contributions and the price may preclude it from the favour of the average layman, while the intelligentsia will probably prefer to spend its money on actual scores rather than the ruminations of the composer's friends. As a readable appreciation for the benefit of Tom, Dick and Harry it fails by trying to be too scholarly and technical. Many of the contributors have spoiled their efforts by fallacious methods of criticism, and in the attempt to be profound have fallen into incoherent verbiage. The two editors, in particular, have failed both to make clear their motives and to attain the ends the average reader would hope they had in mind.

Mr. Mitchell's chapter, 'The Musical Atmosphere', is an oppressive piece of writing. Let us look into one element of this essay. Mr. Mitchell says: "Britten's Englishry is of the profoundest significance for the musical culture of Europe and ourselves." What does he mean? Is not Britten's music of significance as music, apart from his being an Englishman? Or does the writer imply that foreign cultures are loth (or eager) to assimilate Britten's music because it is redolent of a character alien to them? It seems to me that this is just a noble empty phrase to justify Mr. Mitchell's unprofitable occupation of tracing nationality in an art which nowadays derives from such a hotchpotch of sources that it is incapable of such analysis. The whole chapter is largely concerned

with saying that Britten is an Englishman or, at times, an European. In trying to define Britten's peculiarly English quality Mr. Mitchell tells us it has not the same English quality as "the modality of Vaughan Williams; the occasionally rhapsodic folk-song style of Holst or Bax; the bluff geniality of Elgar; the pantheistic impressionism of Delius". Well, we all know that folk-song has a pretty cosmopolitan character, and the modes were by no means a national monopoly; and while we know that Elgar and Delius were Englishmen, we still acknowledge their debt to Franck and Grieg.

When Mr. Mitchell comes to the point of defining Britten's "Englishry" he apologizes for being unable to think of the right words. He, however, settles for this: "Britten's Englishry may be ascribed to two creative tendencies. First, the exploration and exploitation of a whole emotional territory which has otherwise been undiscovered; and secondly a gift for the musical *vernacular*." What wonderful jargon! "Emotional territory"! Surely the only emotions evoked by music are those experienced by the listener. Does this discovery of "new territory" mean that Britten evokes in a listener emotions never previously evoked by music? Is it a new emotion, or a set of virgin listeners? Or is it a new method of evoking an old emotion? Whatever it is, how can we be sure? Then: "a gift for the musical vernacular". Does this mean that Britten's music, though composed by him, sounds like a traditional English folk-song or hymn-tune? Or does it imply that he has a democratic knack of appealing to the man in the street?

The next paragraphs tell us, in connection with the new emotional territory, that Britten's childlike quality, his special "innocence of spirit", appeals to "the child in the child and the child in the adult". "Britten", says our author, swapping horses in mid-stream, "has created a unique department of feeling which, in its turn, has created new textures and new musical ideas. For example, in the Spring Symphony's 'The Driving Boy' the newness of the *sound* alone is startling". But surely, to startle a listener by "newness of sound" is an age-old trick. To startle the listener in the traditional way can scarcely be called exploring a new emotional territory, nor incidentally has it very much to do with "the child in the adult". The old are just as susceptible to shock as the young. Why not say that Britten appeals to the senility in people?

Mr. Mitchell wishes to praise Britten for his "harmonic poise—refusal to be harried by a 'modern' conscience into nervous rhythms or a debilitating chromaticism". He goes on: "One of the main problems of the contemporary composer has been the inhibited attitude towards or downright fear of a largely diatonic

idiom. Walton is a good example of a composer who almost aggressively attempts to suppress or, at least, disguise his diatonic tendencies—hence his often self-destructive rhythms and his frequently cloying chromaticisms.” Is Mr. Mitchell here suggesting that music is an abstract, that it has a value quite apart from its impression on a listener? Well, it is not and it has not. Music is a sequence of sounds intelligible to a listener. The listener makes the sense out of it, according to his own experience; and as to whether the music is diatonic or not, the listener decides for himself. To us Europeans of this century all music is of necessity basically diatonic, because of our musical upbringing and environment. Even so-called atonal music is written by and intended to be heard by men habituated to apply the classical formula of tonality to all music. For Mr. Mitchell to suggest that Walton or anyone else attempts to “disguise” the diatonic element in his music simply will not do. The element is there quite plainly, and is all-important for our enjoyment. Walton’s music is—as is anyone’s, for that matter—merely an elaboration and extension of the formula that existed previously (not a concealment of it), and it would be meaningless to the listener were he not able to apply the classical formula while listening. As much goes for Schönberg’s music, too.

Before I leave this curious chapter let me quote from it some examples of its musicological jargon:

Britten’s perfectly stable Europeanism resulted in a creative freedom which enabled him to make full and uninhibited use of all he had learned from 17th-century English Rhetoric.

It is of prime importance to understand *the extra-chronological relationship of Mahler to Stravinsky in so far as they stand in relation to a common unifying factor—Britten*, even if it is the attraction and common features of opposites.

Britten’s proportions and projected chromaticism is evidence of the truly classical spirit which informs so much of his music and underlies his aristocratic attitude to style.

The concluding chapter is written by Hans Keller. For some psychological reason he reaches the conclusion that Purcell is Britten’s father, one of the two having a superego identification with the other. We are then told that Britten somehow is Mozart, their obvious common characteristic being youthful maturity. Mr. Keller continues:

And if it be objected that Britten is actually cold and empty and superficial, we who find a warmth and a rich deep content in his music have, at least, this to be said in our favour: while one does not usually find things that are not there, one often does not find things that are. I would suggest that both composers [Mozart and Britten] sublimate not only their depths but also their heights, i.e., they even sublimate their sublimity.

For those who like this sort of thing Mr. Keller deals it out in profusion.

One saddening thing about the more pretentious of these Britten essays is the use of jargon-words, not for their preciseness of expression, but for their modishness, their smartness. And similarly with many of the preferences and the admirations. Britten is likened, on very slender points of similarity, to Purcell and Mozart, and is said to be in the line of descent from Mahler, Berg, Schönberg and Milhaud. Is it pure coincidence that these names should be in fashion this season? It would be easy to name quite a different set of composers with whom Britten has just as much affinity—Verdi and Puccini, and then Stravinsky, Holst and Walton. But these, at the moment, are not so fashionable. Supposing I were to write that the "Investigation" fugue in 'Albert Herring' is—not only on account of its portrayal of bumbledom and self-important busybodies, but also because of its musical shape—obviously derived directly from the bogus counterpoint of the Scribes and Pharisees in Massenet's 'Marie Magdeleine', I should be frowned on. It would be perfectly valid criticism, but it is not the smart thing just now to mention Massenet.

I suspect, in a similar spirit, the way in which the Lydian fourth and the Æolian seventh are dragged in to describe certain quirks of Britten's. But if you remember that Britten got the Lydian fourth from Rutland Boughton, who had got it from Debussy, who had got it from Gounod and Tchaikovsky, who had probably got it from Berlioz, then the Lydian fourth loses some of its lustre—it becomes, after all, not so very modish. Why, even Beethoven uses the Lydian fourth in the Pastoral Symphony!

It remains for me to offer to the subject of this hero-worship my condolences that the book should not have been better written and that he should have been the victim of so inopportune an outburst of noble intentions.

DIES IRAE

BY ROBIN GREGORY

It is no uncommon occurrence for composers to quote themes by another hand. The intention behind the quotation varies; sometimes it is humorous, sometimes complimentary, or patriotic or reminiscent.

One of the oldest and most frequently borrowed of all melodies is the ecclesiastical plainsong to the sequence 'Dies Irae'. The theme, one of great but sombre beauty, has exercised its attraction partly, at least, by virtue of its intrinsic merit, but its use must often have been suggested by its liturgical associations. No record of its origin remains, though it seems likely that it was adapted to the poem soon after this had been completed. Both words and melody appear to have been suggested by a passage from the Respond 'Libera me, Domine', which follows the Requiem Mass on solemn occasions. This passage begins "Dies illa, dies irae, calamitatis et miseriae", and the opening of the plainsong setting strikingly resembles that of 'Dies Irae' itself. Apparently the Respond and, directly or indirectly through the Respond, 'Dies Irae', were inspired by some verses from the Vulgate version of Zephaniah, Chapter 1, which begin "Dies irae, dies illa . . . dies tubae et clangoris". The author of the poem was almost certainly Thomas of Celano, a disciple of St. Francis of Assisi and his biographer. The date cannot be fixed accurately, but was probably during the latter half of the twelfth century.

The poem consists of seventeen triple-rhymed stanzas, followed by two pairs of rhymed lines and ending with two short rhymeless lines. In it the rhymed Latin of the Middle Ages reaches one of its peaks. In spite of obvious suitability for the purpose it did not immediately find its way into the office of the Requiem Mass—indeed it is rarely found in manuscript missals until the fifteenth century—but gradually, with its plainsong setting, it took its place as a Sequence following the Gradual of the Requiem. When the Council of Trent, in the sixteenth century, abolished all but four of the many sequences which had invaded the Mass 'Dies Irae' was among those retained.

The melody of the 'Dies Irae' is in a mixed mode—the Dorian and Hypo-dorian—and its compass extends over practically the whole range of the combined scale of these modes, from A to the

tenth above, C. It is not a true sequence-melody, for the poem is not constructed as a series of dual verses consisting of strophe and antistrophe such as are found in a true sequence. The triple verses of 'Dies Irae' are set in a type of strophic form with a coda for the last six lines, and the design is clearly defined and comparatively highly organized. The melody is built of sentences each consisting of three phrases, each phrase corresponding to one line of the poem. The coda is of two sentences with four and two phrases respectively, to conform to the peculiar structure of the last few lines. If the sentences are represented by the letters A, B, C, D and E the complete melody forms the pattern : AABBC : AABBCDE. Unity is created by the fact that all the sentences except C end in identical cadences and, moreover, phrases from one sentence are sometimes echoed in another. If the phrases from each sentence are numbered, B 2, for example, is identical with A 1, and B 3 is a slightly more elaborate version of A 2. The coda runs D 1, D 2, D 3 (= B 1), D 4 (= D 2), E 1, E 2. But analysis, though it may help to indicate the remarkable unity in diversity of this melody, cannot convey its emotional impact. Enough to say that the plainsong fulfils to the letter the requirements laid down by St. Bernard of Clairvaux when he wrote, "Let the chant be full of gravity; let it be neither too worldly, nor too rude and poor . . . Let it move the heart. It should not contradict the sense of the words, but rather enhance it."

Since the time when the melody of 'Dies Irae' became, as it were, common property, composers have used it in two ways: first as an integral part of their settings of the Requiem Mass in its proper context; secondly, and here often in a debased form, to help create the appropriate atmosphere in works dealing with "the supernatural, with wicked powers, with witches, madness, bad dreams, and the lower elements of darkness", the type of subject which came into favour as the Romantic Movement got under way. It is comparatively rare, in these works, to find 'Dies Irae' used to enhance the solemnity of an occasion; its aspect of terror and dread is commonly emphasized at the expense of its message of hope and absolution.

In their settings of the Requiem the polyphonic composers usually retained the plainsong melody for 'Dies Irae', but with the development of increased orchestral resources and of a wider musical vocabulary opportunities for a more consciously dramatic treatment were offered, which composers were not slow to take. "A 'Dies Irae' with orchestral accompaniment," says Tovey, "cannot avoid illustrating its tremendous text regardless of eccle-

siastical style." This is especially the case with that section which begins "Tuba mirum spargens sonum per sepulchra regionum," a clear call to the composer for illustrative treatment. Mozart here employed a trombone obbligato which has drawn some caustic comments from writers on orchestration; Berlioz asked for four brass bands; Verdi, with greater economy of means, produces an equally dramatic effect with his trumpets off-stage answering those in the orchestra. Berlioz alone of these three composers actually introduces the plainsong melody in his Requiem, as later composers have done. Bruneau, for instance, in his work of 1896, delays the appearance of the theme until just before the beginning of 'Tuba mirum'. It is then hurled out in semibreves by trumpets from opposite sides of the orchestra taking alternative notes; next it reappears in slower tempo, and finally it is quietly sung by choristers in the organ-loft. Berlioz has often been derided for his "yards of brass and acres of drums", but the text is an open invitation for dramatic effect, and to do the obvious is not always to do the wrong thing.

Whether the theme itself can stand up to such brutal treatment is a more debatable question. Fauré understood the situation perfectly. His Requiem is an intimate and tranquil work, suffused with a spirit of resignation. If he wished to incorporate the sequence of 'Dies Irae' there were only two courses open to him; either he could retain the plainsong melody, which would conflict with the style of the rest of the work, or he could attempt a dramatic setting in key with the text of the poem but psychologically quite out of place. His solution was to omit 'Dies Irae' altogether. Pizzetti, in his Requiem for unaccompanied chorus, is obviously precluded from using this type of dramatic treatment; he therefore keeps the plainsong in his setting, seeking only to heighten the tension by accompanying it "with a poignant vocalized 'Oh!' to which", says Alec Robertson, "only a purist would object." The effect, on a totally different plane, is perhaps more dramatic still, because more personal and more restrained.

The secular and non-liturgical use of the theme of 'Dies Irae' is common. The most usual purpose seems to be as a means of recalling the words of the sequence—the theme being assumed to be familiar to the listener—and hence to induce the mood of the scene on that day of wrath, when "the world shall dissolve in ashes, and the trumpet, scattering a wondrous sound through the tombs of all lands, shall drive all unto the Throne." As the Romantic movement progressed composers sought to portray in music, among other things, an element of the supernatural, the fantastic and the

macabre; sombre visions of the Kingdom of Death, the Witches' Sabbath, the Inferno, the Dance of Death were among the subjects which attracted them. What more natural than that the composer should employ a theme associated in the minds of his hearers with Death and the Last Judgement in its most terrible aspects? This, at any rate, was how Berlioz used it in the last movement of his *Fantastic Symphony*. During the 'Dream of the Witches' Sabbath', with its "frightful crowd of ghosts, sorcerers and all manner of monsters", funeral bells are heard and then the theme of 'Dies Irae', each phrase played first in slow tempo by two tubas, repeated in quicker time by horns, and finally parodied by woodwind and pizzicato strings as a jig. Towards the end the theme of 'Dies Irae' and that of the Witches' Round Dance are combined in a frantic orgy.

In the first movement of his 'Dante' Symphony Liszt represents the Inferno, where "strange tongues, horrible cries, words of pain, tones of anger, voices high and hoarse" mingle to create a whirling tumult. Again the theme of 'Dies Irae' appears to help suggest the violence of the picture, as it does in his 'Totentanz' for pianoforte and orchestra, a work inspired by the 'Triumph of Death' fresco in the Campo Santo at Pisa. The damned have interested Liszt more than the saved: there is but one short passage in more or less tender vein, set startlingly in the midst of harshness and austerity. For the rest, the majestic plainsong becomes transformed into a grotesque and merciless march, from which the very stench of death arises. There is no other ray of hope.

This rarely performed work created a great impression on Mussorgsky, who in one of his letters wrote, "That mystical music picture, the 'Danse Macabre', in the form of variations on the theme of 'Dies Irae', could only have come from the brain of a daring European like Liszt—in it he has shown the true artistic relations between the piano and the orchestra. The conception is so simple: it is a set of variations and (apparently) nothing more, but I would compare it to Repin's picture 'Bourlaky'—that, too, is a group of portraits, and at first sight, nothing more." The influence of Liszt's work is to be found in the Trepak in Mussorgsky's 'Songs and Dances of Death', in which 'Dies Irae', though never quoted in full, pervades the song in the form of short motives and figures, both in the accompaniment and in the vocal line, derived from its first phrase. It has been pointed out that one of Mussorgsky's characteristic patterns is a succession of two falling thirds. It is also known that 'Dies Irae', in which the same falling thirds are to be found, was one of his favourite melodies, and it is not impossible

that this pattern, derived from that melody, became a part of his unconscious musical thinking. In the Trepak, however, 'Dies Irae' is used quite consciously to create an atmosphere of foreboding and fear. The poem tells of another Dance of Death; of a drunken peasant who has lost his way in a snowstorm. He falls in with Death, who whirls him into a breathless Trepak until the peasant sinks exhausted to his last sleep.

Tchaikovsky was probably influenced by the *Inferno* of Liszt's 'Dante' Symphony in his own work on a similar theme, 'Francesca da Rimini', and this work itself is foreshadowed in its gloomy subject and dark colouring by the 'New Greek Song' written some four years earlier. The poem, by Maykov, begins, "In dark Hell beneath the Earth the sinful shadows languish, the maidens lament, the women are crying"; and Tchaikovsky sets it by using 'Dies Irae' as a theme on which to write variations. "In this song" a Russian critic, A. Alshvang, has said, "Tchaikovsky has given an entirely original musical embodiment to the poetic myth of infernal torment,"—in spite of Liszt's influence. During the variations the plainsong passes from voice to accompaniment and back again; at one point, just before the words invoke a prayer for mercy, it is combined with a variant of the old Protestant hymn, 'Weinen, Klagen'; the variations gradually become more and more remote from the theme, which only at the end reappears in its original form.

Yet another Dance of Death, Saint-Saëns's 'Danse Macabre', is on a lower plane than any of the works so far mentioned. The story, based on a poem by Jean Lahor, tells of Death playing in the churchyard at midnight for a dance of skeletons in their shrouds, and has called from the composer a tone-poem which, even with the aid of a parodied 'Dies Irae', a xylophone to represent the rattling bones, and a tuned-down violin for Death to play, does not induce in the listener any sense of the macabre. As so often with this composer, the writing is clever and the craftsmanship polished, but the total effect is fundamentally unconvincing. The choice of the waltz, that sensuous ballroom dance, for the revels of shrouded skeletons seems to be an error of judgement.

That 'Dies Irae' has not lost its fascination for composers is evident from several more recent works. The Swiss painter Böcklin, by his dated but by no means negligible pictures, must have inspired as much music as any other artist. In particular the one known as 'Die Toteninsel' has stimulated at least three composers to put into terms of music the gloomy impression given by his portrayal of a boat, containing coffin and shrouded figures, making its slow

journey towards a mysterious rocky island overtopped by cypresses. Perhaps Rachmaninov's *Tone-Poem*, Op. 29, is the best known. In it 'Dies Irae' is used, for once, to enhance the solemnity of the picture rather than to raise the hair on our scalps. The theme was something of an obsession with Rachmaninov, for he used it also in his *Third Symphony*, in the *Symphonic Dances*, Op. 45, and in the *Rhapsody on a Theme by Paganini* for piano and orchestra. It is not always clear what significance it had for him, though he has left some clue in a letter to the choreographer Michael Fokin so far as the last of these works is concerned. In this letter, written, it is true, some time after the music had been produced and when there was some prospect of its appearance as a ballet, he explained that his rhapsody was intended to resurrect the legend about Paganini, who sold his soul to an evil spirit in exchange for perfection in his art. All variations, he stated, which have the theme of 'Dies Irae' represent the evil spirit. 'Dies Irae' first appears, played in slow tempo by the piano, in Variation 7, while bassoons and lower strings give out a modified version of the Paganini theme, and this may be taken to represent a dialogue between the evil spirit and Paganini. The evil spirit, implicitly or explicitly, pervades the next three variations, and makes a final fleeting appearance at the end of the work. The fact that the details of this fanciful interpretation may not have been in Rachmaninov's mind when he actually conceived the work does not necessarily invalidate it; the main point is that 'Dies Irae' is associated, however vaguely, and as so often before, with something evil.

This change in the character of the melody's significance has gradually taken place since the early nineteenth century. In its original form 'Dies Irae' had a grave and religious connotation; it was part of one of the most solemn rites of the Church and it was intended to call to mind awe-inspiring events, but it had no associations with anything evil. The parodies by Berlioz, Liszt and others, regarded by many as in bad taste and even approaching profanity, intentionally gave the melody a baleful significance. Repeated use in this manner has tended to debase its real character so that now it is almost taken for granted that its use is cynical in intention. Even Vaughan Williams has been accused of parody in his *Lament of Jane Scroop* for Philip Sparrow, the fourth of his 'Tudor Portraits', though in fact he uses a phrase from 'Dies Irae' most imaginatively; first, as the funeral procession begins, it is gently shared between orchestra and chorus, later, as the birds congregate for the last rites and the chorus intone the words, "And Robin Redbreast, he shall be the priest, the requiem mass to sing," the same phrase

creeps in quietly in the bass, while soft twitterings sound above. There really is no hint of parody here; all is intensely serious, as Vaughan Williams indicated that he intended it to be when he said, "Jane saw no reason, and I see no reason, why she should not pray for the peace of her sparrow's soul."

There are a few works in which the introduction of a portion of 'Dies Irae' has no apparent significance whatever. Tchaikovsky, for example, in the fourth variation in the Finale of his Suite in G, interpolates a phrase as a strident interruption for brass, which is quiet out of place in this innocuous and straightforward movement. The composer may have had some reason for the outburst, but none is apparent. Quotation of 'Dies Irae' has, in fact, been overdone.

BYRD AND AMEN

By WILLIAM PALMER

"As for the Motets and other grave music, you must in them come with more deliberation in bindings to the close", says Morley. The writing of elaborate and beautiful Amens to various motets, anthems and liturgical settings seems to have been a favourite practice with our Church composers of Byrd's day, so often do we find their pieces terminated by rich and uplifting polyphonic settings of the word, prognosticating the modern coda. Surprisingly the cult—if it is not too much so to call it—of Amen appears as peculiarly English: the volumes of the Continental masters of the period contain remarkably few Amens of artistry and proportions similar to those, say, in Gibbons's Verse Anthems. Yet again the wind blew where it listed. A lead in the direction of expanded Amens was given by Tallis in his Latin works, though earlier examples are not scarce. Byrd and his contemporaries—Weelkes, Morley, Tomkins, Batten and others—developed the trend to the full, and Gibbons rounded it off with some superlatively fine settings.

Of more than sixty Amens which stand to Byrd's credit, about a third are merely functional—routine closes of the kind recommended by Morley in his 'Plain and Easy Introduction', or even simpler. If we attempt a categorization of the remainder, the mainly imitative or canonical Amens stand out as a most stimulating class. Those in the three Masses are ingenious, especially in the Creed of the three-part, the Gloria of the four-part, where there is a $7/8$ movement between soprano and alto, and the Creed of the five-part, a particularly glowing one in which the tenor only just avoids canon with the soprano. It is axiomatic that these longer Amens should be sung at a markedly slower tempo than the preceding movements. The seven-part Amen to the Benedictus of the Great Service is a marvel of close imitation; the entries crowd in with almost precipitant haste. The Creed has a similar figure, whereas in the Magnificat the point is reverted. Among the numerous motets possessing imitative Amens we must notice the famous 'O Lux Beata Trinitas' (Cant. Sac. 1575), whose Gloria has three parts out of six in canon; 'Ave Maris Stella' and 'Quem Terra Pontus' (Grad. Lib. I), both in three parts; and 'O Quam Gloriosum' (Cant. Sac. 1589), a work steeped in Catholic atmo-

sphere, with a final Amen of Weelkesian grandeur. The device used here of modulating into the subdominant before ending up on the tonic was an effective commonplace of the period.

Also characteristic of late sixteenth-century idiom was the use of sustained notes in the bass or another part before the cadence—nothing more nor less than a pedal-point. It is often to be found in madrigals. One of the most interesting early instances of its use occurs in that very advanced work by Redford, 'Rejoice in the Lord', which is unlikely to have been written later than the reign of Mary. The thoroughly musical Amen in this piece is based on an inverted tonic pedal of four bars' length in the soprano. Some of Byrd's best Amens are so written. One that is often performed ends the Magnificat of the Second Service, where the tonic held for four bars in the soprano covers an excursion in free polyphony by the lower parts. Similar instances occur in the other Services. A particularly gorgeous Amen of this type concludes the anthem for Royal occasions, 'O Lord, make Thy Servant Elizabeth', a dignified work which might suitably be revived. Here again the soprano holds the tonic for four bars, while the disposition of the lower parts suggests a broad crescendo in the middle. (The allusion to the letter "Beth" in the first part of Tallis's Lamentations is noticeable.) The mystically solemn Amen to 'Ave Verum Corpus' (Grad. Lib. I), must not go unmentioned; it will be seen that Byrd did not hesitate to cross the parts in the interest of the falling tenor line. The verse-anthem 'O Lord, Rebuke me not', also has a fine example, with pedal in the alto and double imitation in the free parts.

In more festal mood we have the large-scale, multiple Amens that form the coping-stone to some of the bigger works. One such has been called by so reticent a judge as Dr. Fellowes, "One of the most perfect settings of the word in the whole realm of music". There is little one can add to this eulogy of the monumental Amen to the six-part anthem 'O Praise our Lord, all ye Gentiles' (1611), save perhaps to point out that the initial subject out of which it is constructed is quite a modest one. The secret lies entirely in Byrd's treatment and development of it, in his unique power in achieving nobility in complex counterpoint. By contrast there is a far less inspired Amen of comparable proportions in the manuscript motet 'O Salutaris Hostia'; it has some extensive melismatic phrases, one of four bars' length. Again in Byrd's most distinguished manner the Gloria to the Nunc Dimittis of the Great Service—"Probably the finest and most beautiful ever written for English use", to quote Fellowes again—ends with a fittingly grandiose

Amen. "World without end" is set to rising scale passages for all five voices, which sweep upwards like waves, one after another coming into prominence. After a return to the original key the immensely dignified final Amen begins, culminating after four slow bars in a plagal cadence.

There remains a number of individual Amens interesting in their own right. Foremost in fascination among these is the popular final Amen for use after the Third Collect in conjunction with the *Preces* and Responses. Its beautiful and restful effect proceeds from the gently falling soprano line, which covers (in the transposed edition) basic progressions from A major to E minor first inversion, to D major first inversion, where there is a 7/6 suspension, and so to a perfect cadence in D. Incidentally the tenor part given in Fellowes's complete edition is revised in his and Sir Ivor Atkins's 'Six Settings of the *Preces* and Responses by Tudor Composers'. It is quite different in character from William Smith's parallel, but more ceremonial final Amen. An extraordinary clash between major and minor thirds, due to movement in the alto, occurs at the end of the Festal Psalm 'Teach me, O Lord', reminiscent of the collision in the close of Tallis's 'O Nata Lux de Lumine'. In the Magnificat of the Fauxbourdon Service Byrd breaks away from the plainsong in order to indulge in some soaring improvisation on Amen. 'Christe Qui Lux es et Dies', another work incorporating plainsong, has a stricter setting. Several verse-anthems not hitherto mentioned have fine, extensive Amens: 'Behold, O God', where the last chord is bare, and 'Thou God that Guid'st'—'A Prayer for the King'. Those Latin motets with Glorias (particularly Intros) usually conclude with jubilant Amens or *Seculorum* Amens. The final number of the 1607 Gradualia, 'Venite Exultemus', has a massive Alleluia-Amen of Handelian breadth.

A few fine Amens of the period which bear comparison with the best of Byrd's may be mentioned. That set to both evening canticles of Gibbons's Second Service is a noble instance of inspired polyphony, especially the purposeful soprano line. The same composer's great six-fold Amen to the Anthem 'O Thou Central Orb' (originally 'O all true faithful hearts'), is occasionally detached for festal use; indeed most of his verse-anthems possess Amens of the highest quality. Weelkes's contributions are fewer but of the first importance. Two of his anthems—'Gloria in Excelsis' and 'O Lord, Grant the King a Long Life'—have stately and richly worked examples, both carrying the feel of string-writing. Morley's verse-anthem 'Out of the Deep' has an exceptionally sombre one, the final chord of G major being approached from the first inversion

of C minor. William Smith's companion Amen to his Responses is widely known. Its soprano part tallies almost exactly with that in the last four bars of Gibbons's Short Service. Other Services which have Amens of the more florid kind are Weelkes's Ninth, Morley's First, Tomkins's Third and John Farrant's in D minor.

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EASTER DAY

Hyacinth of joy and flower most holy,
Sprig of releasing unto the lowly,
Winter's long night greys, the dayspring trembles,
Alleluia!

Buried in earth then, hidden 'neath the brambles,
The root of peace slumbered: now it assembles
Strength, pressing up to the light, the all-seeing,
Alleluia!

Deep in the brakes the drifted snow lying,
Icicles hang by the stream: still dying,
The woods stand stricken. Oh! give warning,
Alleluia!

Cleaving the black earth, star of the morning,
Flower—oh! flower blue, the whole woodland adorning,
Hyacinth of joy and flower most holy,
Alleluia!

MARTIN COOPER.

TURPYN'S BOOK OF LUTE-SONGS

BY PHILIPPE OBOUSSIER

THERE is to be found in the Rowe Library at King's College, Cambridge, a book of lute-songs in manuscript. On both the inside and outside of the vellum cover is inscribed the name of Francis Turpyn, and occasionally that of Elizabeth Turpyn, presumably his wife. The book was presented to the College by the late Lord Keynes; where and when he acquired it has not been ascertained.

The volume, 12½ in. high by 8 in. broad is of i+21 ff. and contains twelve songs, ten being in the handwriting of one scribe, the remaining two being the work of two other scribes. Here is a list of the songs in the book:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Can she excuse my wrong [s] | [John Dowland, 1st Book of
Airs, 1597.] |
| 2. Now, O now I needs must part | Ditto. |
| 3. Rest awhile, you cruel cares | Mr. John Dowlande [1st Book
of Airs, 1597]. |
| 4. O eyes, leave off your weeping | [Robert Hales, from Robert
Dowland's A Musical Ban-
quet, 1610.] |
| 5. Pandolpho, a Song in 2 parts
Pt. 1. Pour down, you powers
divine
Pt. 2. No grief is like to mine | [Robert Parsons.] |
| 6. This merry pleasant spring | Anon. |
| 7. See, see, mine own sweet jewel | [Thomas Morley, Canzonets
to 3 Voices, 1593.] |
| 8. Miserere my Maker | Anon. |
| 9. Sweet youth, go bruise thy
pillow | Anon. |
| 10. Seest thou not man to-day | Anon. |
| 11. Most men do love the Spanish
wine | Anon. |
| 12. Beauty sat bathing by a spring | [Robert Jones, 3rd Book of
Airs, 1608.] |

Nos. 5 and 10 have an accompaniment for the bandora (or pandore), while the remainder are for the lute. No. 12 has an added part for the bass-viol. It will be noticed that for only one song, No. 3, is the name of any composer given.

The main interest of this book lies in the fact that the songs

Nos. 8-11 are not known elsewhere (as far as I can discover), while 'Pandolpho' by Parsons and the Morley song are known only in different forms. Of the known songs, little need be said. Those by Dowland show minor variations in the lute part compared with the version used by the late Dr. Fellowes in his edition (Stainer & Bell). No. 12, 'Beauty sat bathing by a spring', by Robert Jones, is identical with the version in his 3rd Book of Aires, otherwise known as *Ultimum Vale*, which was published in 1608. The handwriting of this song appears to be a little later than that found in the rest of the book and, as it is the last in the volume, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that it is an addition. Here the note-heads are diamond in shape, as found in contemporary printed books, while the words are written in a fine Italianate hand. The bass-viol part is added below and is unbarred, with the repeat written out in full, unlike in the voice and lute parts. No. 4, 'O eyes, leave off your weeping', is by Robert Hales. It comes from 'A Musical Banquet', a collection of songs by various composers published in 1610 by Robert Dowland, son of John Dowland, some of whose songs it contains. Hales is there described as "Groome of hir Maiesties Privie Chamber". That is all we know for certain about him, and this is his only known song. It is of a simple character, bearing resemblance to the rather square-cut songs by John Dowland. The printed and manuscript versions of the tune and accompaniment vary in minor details, and there are a few differences in the words of the song, no modern edition of which exists.

The sixth song, 'This merry pleasant spring', is a jolly affair, the voice having the somewhat difficult task of imitating in quick succession the nightingale, the sparrow, the robin and the rapid quiverings of the lark. Manuscripts of this song are also to be found at Christ Church, Oxford (MS. 439, p. 42), and at the British Museum (Add. 17786-91), but in the latter it is set as a piece of string music for five viols. An edition for voice and four viols by Warlock is published by Oxford University Press in the 'First Book of Elizabethan Songs'. The song is anonymous in all manuscripts.

No. 7, 'See, see, mine own sweet jewel', by Morley, is a version for solo voice and lute of the first of his Canzonets to Three Voices, 1593. Here the voice is given the top line of the canzonet, while the lute has a free accompaniment based on the lowest voice of the canzonet. The second or middle voice is missing altogether, resulting in a very bare effect as regards texture and chording. Why should a voice have been left out? In Morley's 'Consort Lessons' (1599, and reprinted in 1611), there is a version of the canzonet under the title 'Joyne hands', scored for treble viol, base viol, flute

(here a tenor recorder), and three accompanying harmony instruments—lute, cittern and bandora. Individual part-books have survived for all instruments except the lute. The lute parts to several numbers in the 'Consort Lessons' have been found in various Cambridge lute manuscripts. It seems almost certain that here is another, copied out from the original printed lute part-book. The melody of 'See, see mine own sweet jewel' is virtually identical (the differences being negligible) with the tune of 'Joyne hands', which is given to the treble viol. The flute part, if added to the version in the Turpyn book, fits in perfectly and makes the setting complete. This explanation absolves the scribe or arranger from having committed the sin of leaving out a voice in a 3-part composition, though why he did not spot this and fill in some of the missing notes is quite another matter.*

To turn to the unknown songs in the book. Among these I include perhaps the most interesting, 'Pandolpho', by Robert Parsons. There are manuscripts of only the first part of this song in the British Museum (Add. 17786-91) and at the Royal College of Music, where the accompaniment is for viols. In these versions of the song the voice part is relatively simple and unornamented, whereas in the Turpyn book it is extremely rich in flourishes—particularly at the cadences of each half of the song—and the accompaniment is written for the bandora, an instrument of the guitar family. It is tuned to the same intervals as the lute, but the bottom string starts the tuning on D below the bass stave instead of on G on the bottom line of the bass stave as in the case of the lute. It may well be that Parsons used the bandora here with intent, as the doleful and plaintive cries of "Some pity, Pandolpho" and "Farewell" are echoed by the low-sounding strings of the instrument. The song is exceptional for its length, each part containing over eighty-five bars of slow-moving music in 3/4 time. The music, which is continuous in each part, is different for each verse; thematic continuity is achieved in both parts by the repetition of a few short musical phrases. The simple version of the song referred to above has been published by the Oxford University Press in the 'Second Book of Elizabethan Songs', edited by Peter Warlock. Here are the words of 'Pandolpho' as they occur in the Turpyn book: ♣

Part I. Pour down, you powers divine, on me,
 Poor wretch and silly maid;
 Some hope, some hap of him to have,
 My heavy heart to aid.
 Pandolpho, Pandolpho, some pity, Pandolpho.

* I am indebted to Mr. Thurston Dart for information regarding this song.

From else which fiery fiends to force
 On me your furious fates;
 Unless my hurled heart hath help,
 My hopes are but my hates.
 Pandolpho, etc.

Thus restless will I rest in ruth,
 Respecting what remains,
 If pitiless, then pleasureless,
 If pitiful, no pain.
 Pandolpho, etc.

Part II. No grief is like to mine,
 Which nought but death can suage,
 My help is hurt, my weal is woe,
 My rest is ruthless rage.

My comfort is my care,
 My safety shipwreck is,
 My med'cine is my misery,
 And bale is all my bliss.

Farewell my friendly foe,
 Pandolpho proud, farewell;
 Farewell the cancer of my woe.
 I love and lothe to live,
 I live and long to die;
 Come death, dispatch her life,
 Her life she yields to die;
 Come death, dispatch her life,
 She doth desire to die.

The next song, No. 8, is very fine. The words of the poem deserve quoting:

1 Miserere my Maker,
 O have mercy on me, poor wretch, strangely distressed,
 Cast down with sin oppressed,
 Mightily wept to the soul's bitter anguish,
 Even to death I languish.
 Yet let it please Thee to hear my ceaseless crying,
 Miserere, Miserere, I am dying.

2 Miserere my Saviour,
 I, alas, for my sins am fearfully grieved,
 And cannot be relieved
 But by Thy death, which Thou didst suffer for me,
 Wherefore I adore Thee,
 And do beseech Thee to hear my ceaseless crying,
 Miserere, Miserere, I am dying.

3 Holy Spirit Miserere,
 Comfort my distressed soul, grieved for youth's folly,

Purge, cleanse and make it holy;
 With Thy sweet due of grace and peace inspire me,
 Holy I desire Thee;
 And strengthen me now in this my ceaseless crying,
 Miserere, Miserere, I am dying.

These words, religious in spirit though not liturgical, commend themselves for use during Lent, as an anthem for solo or boys' voices. The final plea, "Miserere", is set to music most beautifully in a falling chromatic passage for the voice, while the accompaniment, with the help of diminished fifths, takes the music rapidly through the keys of D major, G major, F major and then to the final dominant pedal note on A.

The next song, 'Sweet youth, go bruise thy pillow', has a fa-la refrain to both halves of the verse. The first time a dotted rhythm is maintained in the 4/4 time of the song, but when the fa-las come a second time they are in triplet rhythm, a bar of 4/4 becoming, in effect, a bar of 6/8. This is indicated in the manuscript by "hemiola".

The next song in the book to be discussed, 'Seest thou not man to-day', is the second to be accompanied by the bandora. Double bars divide it into four sections, the first two being identical musical phrases of four bars' length, and the second, two identical phrases of eight bars' length. In the manuscript there are repetition marks at the second double bar, but this must surely be a mistake on the part of the scribe, since it would imply the repetition of the same phrase four times for each verse, and there are no fewer than six verses! The song is of a simple character, with an accompaniment that is peculiar in that it generally leaves the completion of the third note of the triad to the voice part.

No. 11, 'Most men do love the Spanish wine', is a none too refined drinking song that would do any Elizabethan ale-house proud. It is set for bass voice and is, in fact, the only song in the book not written in the treble or G clef. The 'Tananananos' of the voice are echoed in a highly imitative lute accompaniment, demanding a virtuoso player to execute its fast scale-passages, which sometimes run in thirds or sixths.

Turpyn's book can be roughly dated 1610-15. It is a pity that—with one exception (No. 3) and this is already known and is in a different hand from that responsible for the greater part of the volume—the scribes should have omitted to tell us the names of the composers of these songs, some of which are equal to the finest of a remarkable if short-lived genre of English music.

TEMPO RUBATO

BY THOMAS FIELDEN

No composer has suffered more from the misuse of Tempo Rubato than Chopin. The contemporary practice of it which passes for "interpretation", or "individuality", but too often degenerates into mere distortion, is the result of prolonged misunderstanding of it, in spite of the testimony of Chopin's contemporaries and of Chopin himself. Liszt began the misconception in his 'Life of Chopin', describing it in such flowery and verbose language as to obscure almost completely the real meaning of the term. Moscheles, a better scholar, wrote: "Chopin's manner of playing *ad-libitum*, a phrase which to many signifies deficiency in time and rhythm, was with him only a charming originality of execution."

Klezczynski, an authoritative writer on Chopin, who gives the evidence of many of Chopin's pupils, went into the question carefully. He writes:

Who introduced Rubato? Certainly not Chopin. Rubato had its origin in the Gregorian chant: the singer held certain notes *ad-libitum*, taking other notes rapidly, doubtless influenced by the traditions of declamation handed down by the ancient Greek rhapsodists. The recitativo introduced into Italy in the sixteenth century, which saw a revival of Greek traditions, is nothing but the rubato style. It passed slowly afterwards into instrumental music: we have signs of it in Bach's Chromatic Fantasia. Beethoven sometimes indicated rubato passages, e.g. in the Adagio of Op. 97 (bar 17, and in the 11th bar before the Finale), and in the Adagio of Op. 106.

Beethoven certainly allowed a certain latitude in rhythm, as is evident in many of his indications, e.g. in the Eroica Symphony. It is also evident in the traditional renderings of many other passages in his symphonies. Schallenberg, a more modern writer on Chopin, remarks:

How many explanations of his famous tempo-rubato have been given, all of them in fierce contradiction to one another? The rubato was not, as Liszt declared it to be, a typically Slav feature. The Polish master rather developed it into something utterly personal. It was an integral part of his art and unquestionably one of its most powerful attractions. Other pianists who endeavoured to reproduce it only succeeded in destroying the balance of their performance.

What is rubato? It is nothing more than the exercise of natural

freedom of rhythm. An analogy may be found in the recitation of blank verse. Declaim Portia's "quality of mercy" lines as it were to four regular crotchets in a bar. The longs and shorts will be observed, but the result will be dull and mechanical. But imagine a $2\frac{1}{4}$ time signature, and the word "quality" pronounced to two semiquavers and a quaver, and "mercy is not" to a quaver triplet and a crotchet. Now the sense of the words is enhanced by the freedom of the rhythm, and even pauses do not interfere with the movement. The illustration is, perhaps, one of alteration of rhythm rather than rubato; but it serves to suggest the effect of freedom which true rubato achieves. In this connection Kleczynski writes:

In spoken language we do not use the same tone of voice for the principal thought and the incidental phrases: we leave the latter in the shade. All the theory of the style which Chopin taught to his pupils rested on this analogy between music and language, on the necessity for separating the different phrases, for pointing and modifying the power of the voice and the rapidity of articulation.

And again:

To play Chopin's music without time and without rhythm is absolutely opposed to tradition, as also to the principles of music in general. "Time is the soul of music," he was wont to say to his pupils. He always observed this principle himself, and the rubato passages which we meet in his works cannot weaken its truth.

Chopin's own performance, as those who heard him play have testified, was a reaction against the precise and rigid playing characteristic of eighteenth-century classicism. The freedom of rhythm called rubato is most vital in playing the Mazurkas. Bronarski has this to say on the matter:

It is worth noting that in no others of his works does Chopin so often demand Tempo Rubato as in his Mazurkas. . . . It is just this diversity of rhythms and their contrasts which, with the frequent changes of tempo, gives to this dance so much life and movement, and is at the same time a reflection of its national character. Rhythms full of fire and verve, and what the Poles call "zaciecie" (swagger), are found side by side with light, graceful, cajoling ones, as, too, with the rhythms that reflect the Slav melancholy and nostalgia.

We see, therefore, that rubato is never a defect in the time; the sense of rhythm—and this includes appreciation of note-values—must never be lost, apparent changes and momentary incongruities notwithstanding. Here are a few rules to follow:

(1) Do not feel that it is necessary to play rubato at all costs. There are some composers, like Brahms, whose music will not bear such treatment, but is much more beautiful if played with a truly balanced rhythm. Many of Chopin's works, notably some Preludes and Studies, not to mention the Polonaises, are all the better for a minimum of rubato.

(2) Study your piece as a whole, and decide what your general

rhythmical background is to be; then keep that always in your mind, even in your naturally varying moods.

(3) Always play the music as you feel it; but see to it that authority for what you do comes from a background of musical scholarship and indeed general musicianship established on sound lines, and not merely from an imitation of any one teacher or performer.

(4) Follow Chopin's advice in playing his work, remembering that he is often robust, and rarely sentimental. "Imagine a tree with its branches swayed by the wind: the stem represents the steady time, the moving leaves are inflections. This is what is meant by Tempo and Tempo Rubato."

This is the true Rubato: the keeping of the general rhythm while varying the particulars. It is especially important in playing the Mazurkas, with their frequent changes of speed, their gypsy abandon, at times almost like an improvisation. There must be vivid imagination of the wild ecstasy of the dances as well as of their romantic wistfulness—the player must almost see the dance. And all the time there must be that firm grip of the general rhythm, the underlying, anticipated accompaniment of the steps of the dance—just as the woman anticipates and follows the steps of her partner.

One or two instances of the misuse of Tempo Rubato may be given. In the opening of the Scherzo in B \flat minor the music is in clear four-bar rhythm, and calls for heroic treatment; yet it has become almost a tradition to ignore rests and note-values here, and the practice is carried to such an extent that in bars 17–21 the second and third beats are omitted altogether. This is to caricature the magnificent, sweeping introduction of a great dramatic work. (Paderewski's playing of this work is a superb memory.) In the opening of the Polonaise in C \sharp minor a similar distortion is often indulged in, the rhythm becoming chaotic. The only explanation of these "interpretations" is that they have been handed on by unthinking teachers and absorbed by equally unthinking students.

To play in such a way that the hands are seldom together, the left hand more or less keeping time and the right wandering at will irrespective of what the left is about—as is done sometimes in the Nocturnes, notably the Nocturne in F \sharp major—is not rubato: it is plainly bad playing.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A Composer's World. By Paul Hindemith. pp. 221. (Oxford University Press: 1952. 21s.)

If one takes Bartók, Stravinsky, Schönberg and Hindemith to be probably the greatest, and certainly the most "central", figures in twentieth-century music, they would seem to have—despite their manifold differences of approach and practice—at least one thing in common: a desire to formulate an attitude to the art they serve. The twentieth century does not offer its composers a ready-made criterion of music's nature and purpose, as did almost every previous creative epoch; it is not therefore surprising that the most powerful creative musicians of our day should feel impelled to state what they think they are about.

True, Bartók left no explicit theoretical or philosophical statement, apart from occasional, mostly conversational *aperçus*; yet his work on his country's folk music amounts, in a sense, to a confession of faith. True, Stravinsky's inability to express himself in words with the clarity which he can command in music sometimes makes it appear that he is trying to say, in the 'Poetics of Music' and intermittently in the 'Chroniques de ma vie', that the purpose of music is to have no purpose. Yet even this is a statement of faith, if seen against the background of history, in relation to Stravinsky's violent reaction against Wagnerian megalomania; and we soon become aware that Stravinsky does not mean quite what he says, that he is attempting to arrive at a neo-Thomist aesthetic which is intelligible and convincing in the light of his creative practice. Schönberg was a more logical thinker than either Bartók or Stravinsky, and he wrote one of the great text-books of any time; while in 'Style and Idea' he made various remarks from which his views on the purpose of music can be deduced. None the less, there can be no question that of these four great composers Hindemith is, as theorist and philosopher of music, easily the most systematic and comprehensive. In 'The Craft of Musical Composition' he has written a textbook which may well stand as a rationalization of the creative practice of our day, comparable in significance with Rameau's great treatise which rationalized the practice of the eighteenth century. Now, in 'A Composer's World', he offers the most thorough and profound analysis of the composer's philosophical and social position I have come across.

Hindemith takes as his starting-point two discussions of music's nature and purpose by medievals—St. Augustine and Boethius. He thus defines his theme; for the whole of his book is an impassioned plea for music as a moral force, rather than as entertainment. Some reviewers have adopted a slightly superior tone in writing of this aspect of the book; it proves, they imply, how very German and how very romantic Hindemith is, and some have even affected surprise that so powerful a mind could betray so fundamental a naïvety. He is not naïve, nor romantic, nor specifically German; that music is a moral force, however "entertaining" it may or may not be, is a truth which should be self-evident, and always

was before the twentieth century. Either music is an aspect of human experience—and some experiences are more significant, more valuable, than others—or it is a game no more nor less important than ping-pong.

Hindemith then attempts a subtle analysis of *how* music is related to human experience, first intellectually, then emotionally. His argument is too elaborate to be summarized; but one must record some dissension from his account of musical emotion. The emotions aroused by music, he says, are not the same as those evoked by real life; they could not be, for they occur in such rapid succession and in such multifariousness. They are memories of emotions which we have had previously; and if we haven't had emotions that are appropriate the music will mean nothing to us. In this, music differs from the visual arts and literature, in which the emotions involved are the same as those we should experience in life. I find this argument (here grossly over-simplified) difficult to follow, and untrue to my own experience. I suppose one might possibly maintain that a painter helps us to see colours and forms which are present in nature but which we miss because we have not the painter's vision. If we were all artists and had eyes to see we should make our own pictures in apprehending the visible world around us. But there is still the factor of communication; a painting is a communication between human minds, and I cannot see that the way in which the painter uses forms and colours in space to achieve this differs essentially from the way in which the composer uses tensions and relaxations of vibrations in time. Nor can I think that the emotions evoked by reading poetry are the same as those evoked by the immediate happenings of life. Is not the difference mainly that the emotions in a work of art are concentrated and ordered, however complex the order may be, whereas in real life they tend to be chaotic? And does not this apply to music as much as (if not more than) to the other arts?

Hindemith then goes on to discuss the nature of musical technique itself. He begins with the fact that music, unlike painting, exists in time, offering a profound account of the distinction between metre and rhythm. He then goes on to consider what he calls the spatial element in music—the “third dimension” of harmony and the establishment of tonal perspective. He maintains that when once composers have experienced the third dimension it is impossible to escape its gravitational pull; and this leads him to a detailed analysis of the basic tonal material which Nature offers the composer. This section of the book is a tightly potted, but lucid, summary of the theoretical sections of ‘The Craft of Musical Composition’. It is not possible (Hindemith thinks) to add anything to the materials that are implicit in the nature of sound; it is only possible to use these materials in different ways—ways which are not necessarily “better” than those of our predecessors, but which are more relevant to our own particular needs. But however we use or misuse them, we shall ignore the dictates of Nature only at our peril. Without some absolute, “some such canon of beauty”, you can expect only “senseless devotion to sound, emphasis on virtuosity and entertainment, and finally esoteric escape from any responsibility towards society”. Hindemith even intimates that recognition of and respect for the “eternal laws of harmony, melody and rhythm could transform the world's woes and falsehood into the ideal habitat for human beings, who by the same process of musical ennoblement would have grown into creatures worthy of such a paradise”. Such a vision is neither sentimental nor whimsical;

it is, after all, a restatement of one aspect of the medieval view of music, from which Hindemith began his investigation.

Hindemith throughout insists that technical equipment in itself is neither important nor difficult to acquire; it matters only in so far as it is a means of communication. Musical "ideas" are not necessarily or even usually significant in themselves. They owe their significance to what is done with them; and that depends on qualities which Hindemith does not hesitate to call vision and inspiration. The section on the nature of musical inspiration is—to use an appropriate metaphor—exceptionally illuminating. And although "the congruence of vision and materialization" is rarely achieved, the moral struggle to achieve it remains the essence of the composer's task.

When Hindemith comes down to the actual stuff of music it is again to insist that musical styles and media are inevitably conditioned by music's moral significance, by its function in the life of a community. Plainsong and Pérotin's organa do not fully exist apart from the Gothic cathedral. Indeed Pérotin wrote for the human voice and the echoes of Notre Dame; and to separate his work from its context is to destroy the sound the composer intended, not to mention the fact that one deprives it of most of its philosophical implications. Similarly, Bach's harmonic polyphony is a keyboard, in particular an organ, style; and that the organ was so important an instrument in his world was not fortuitous. To transcribe his keyboard fugues for string soloists or for orchestra is to weaken their tension and their inherent emotional significance. Only the deliberate isolation of music from its context in human life could have produced the fatuous disparagement of history implicit in the notion of Progress. When we see music as a part of human life we see that there have been many perfections aspired to if never attained, appropriate to man's fluctuating ideals. There have been many climaxes, each followed by decline. But never before have composers so assiduously followed so fallacious an ideal—the belief that music can exist in and for itself. The search after originality at all costs—in particular harmonic originality—follows in the wake of such a belief. It is a sterile pursuit because, in Hindemith's view, the technical possibilities open to the composer are limited by Nature itself. Thus, for Hindemith, Schönberg and his school are entirely on the wrong lines, in so far as they destroy tradition through failing to recognize Nature, and in so far as they substitute a deliberate esotericism for communication, without which music does not exist. In this wholesale condemnation of twelve-note music Hindemith is, as always, logical; one may be permitted, however, a certain unease. The "third dimension" of harmony may apply to most European music but it does not, as Hindemith admits, apply to all music. It is at least possible that new forms of purely linear organization may come to have an increasing importance in our more internationalized societies; and I can even, at a pinch, think of some "philosophical" reasons why this might be so. Many of us cannot admit that the finest works of Schönberg, Berg and Webern have no more experiential meaning than would blotches of ink flung at random over the music paper. Hindemith uses a rather more complicated form of this analogy. One would like to know whether all twelve-note music is equally devoid of meaning for him; and if it isn't, whether he would maintain that the meaningful pieces represent a departure from an erroneous theory.

The decay of tradition and the cult of originality leave the composer an easy victim of fashion or routine—what Hindemith neatly terms “denatured art”. So, after these abstract and technical considerations, Hindemith turns to an account of the nature of musical activity in a commercialized world. He makes a violent onslaught on the effect of radio—“this tremendous sewage system of sound”. “It is not so much that music has lost all its dignity, all its artistic and ethic value which is depressing; it is the degradation of the human mind, the violation of man’s right to self-determination, his being inseparably chained to something that is normally used only as a kind of stimulus. . . . It is our era that has had the privilege of adding to those old disgraceful blemishes on mankind’s record—political dictatorship, slave labour, prostitution, racial discrimination—the modern complement, ‘the captive audience’.” In the light of Hindemith’s fundamental preoccupations I do not think this statement is extravagant; and it is to be related to the fact that whereas in Haydn’s or even Beethoven’s day the distribution among the musical public of listeners, amateurs and professionals was about five, ninety, and five per cent respectively, to-day the proportions may be estimated at about ninety-five, one, and four.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that we should have produced a vast industry of academic instruction in music which, in terms of human experience, is pointless; we train teachers to teach teachers to teach teachers, to what end we know not. Nor is it surprising that we should have produced the enormity of the virtuoso conductor (of which phenomenon Hindemith offers a fascinating psychological explanation); and the hardly less monstrous phenomenon of the composer who can do nothing except compose. Much of this, of course, has been said before, though never so trenchantly; what gives Hindemith’s account its value is the positive suggestions which are always related to his criticism. He propounds, for instance, the interesting theory that the condition of ensemble singing is the best indication of a community’s musical health; because ensemble singing is a social activity—chamber music which employs the instrument everyone is endowed with in varying degrees of efficiency—and because writing for voices is for the composer a natural safeguard of musical sanity. Hindemith maintains that we have no hope of a living musical culture until we once more have a nation of amateur music-makers. Practical training in musicianship should be a basic essential of school teaching, and composers in their turn should show an increased awareness of the needs of the amateur.

Hindemith has nothing but contempt for the composer who would claim that he is not appreciated because the public is not ready for him; he has no right to expect appreciation if he shows no social responsibility. Nor does Hindemith think there is anything to be said for the training of composers as such. Musical academies, like schools, should teach general musicianship; the musician who can sing, play several instruments, direct his choir and orchestra, will proceed to creative composition, if he has the root of the matter in him, as a natural outcrop of his activities, as did any composer before the nineteenth century and most composers during that century. The existence of a race of practising musicians who are composers depends, of course, on the creation of a society that can employ them; and that problem is not going to be solved merely by a modified form of musical education. But it is not going to be solved

without such education; and what makes Hindemith's book so immensely inspiring, despite the grimness of the picture he paints of our *soi-disant* culture, is his honesty in facing the issues involved, his passionate belief in youth and the potentialities of education, and his sober conviction that music can be a regenerating power. He offers us the example of 'Ludus Tonalis', 'Mathis der Maler', and the 'Marienlieder'; and also of this great book.

W. H. M.

The Thematic Process in Music. By Rudolf Reti. (New York: Macmillan, 1952.)

Anyone who has tried to write about music must have felt, at one time or another, dissatisfaction with the orthodox methods of analysis. If one rationalized such dissatisfaction one might come to the conclusion that one was depressed by the prevailingly negative nature of one's attempts at criticism. It is possible to say something positive about the general nature of sixteenth-century polyphony, the baroque fugue, the eighteenth-century sonata and so on, in so far as these methods of composing are conventions which arise out of a given set of circumstances in the "human condition". When one comes down to the criticism of particular composers and specific works, however, analysis too often amounts to a citation of the occasions on which a composer does *not* do what convention expects of him. This may be helpful; but criticism that proceeds in terms of negatives cannot be permanently satisfying.

Further reflection might then lead one to the conclusion that what was most lacking was any adequate technique of analysing the melodic and thematic aspects of composition. It is not very difficult to discuss harmony and tonality in relation to established precedent; to explain how Beethoven achieves a particular emotional effect by defeating one's harmonic or modulatory expectations. It is much more difficult—indeed, according to orthodox methods, wellnigh impossible—to say anything precise about the reasons why a melodic line is so and not otherwise; or about the precise part which the thematic conception plays in the organization of a composition. This is one reason why it is easier to write good creative criticism about relatively minor and eccentric figures such as Puccini or Delius than it is to write such criticism of Bach or Mozart.

Yet all musicians agree that the melodic element and the thematic process are the most fundamental and significant aspects of composition; and the metaphor "organic" is repeatedly used to describe a musical structure that convinces. How exactly does melody function as the basic creative force in composition? How does the thematic process work as an organizing power existing at a deeper level—one more intimately in contact with the composer's experience—than that of the external mould which is given to him by the society he lives in? Rudolf Reti's book owes its importance to the fact that it attempts to answer these questions; and that these are the questions most worth asking.

It is easy enough to see how completely thematic composition works in a relatively brief polyphonic piece such as a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century motet. Even here, however, Reti points out that commentary is apt to be superficial; for thematicism does not necessarily imply the rigid use of contrapuntal devices. Exceptionally, one may come across a work such as Bach's last chorale-prelude, in which every note of the texture is strictly and canonically derived by inversion, reversion, augmentation

and diminution from the chorale melody. Normally, one finds that in a sixteenth-century Mass on a plainsong theme the different parts will be derived from the basic theme by many largely unconscious processes of variation and transformation. Literal imitation is not essential for the preservation of homogeneity. Linear evolution is a creative process, like life itself.

Although little attempt has been made at a subtle analysis of the thematic motet, most musicians would agree that some such approach as is here outlined is relevant: that the music is constructed or, rather, grows out of a number of equally important and related lines. But can one apply the principle to a large-scale work, such as Bach's B minor Mass? Do the miscellaneous movements and sections of the work make up an "organic" whole, and if so, why? Reti thinks they do; and that all the sections are related to or are transformations of two basic thematic ideas which permeate the whole gigantic structure. This case is not disproved but is rather strengthened by the fact that Bach borrowed certain movements from earlier and apparently alien works; for in these very movements he introduced several slight but significant changes which in every case tend to make the pieces more conformable with the basic thematic concept.

But it is not in discussing medieval, renaissance or baroque music that we come up against the essence of the problem; for since all these kinds of music were based on the conception of unity they inevitably depended on the continuous evolution of line. When we turn to classical symphonic music, however, we are faced with an art which is rooted in the idea of conflict or contrast. Why is it, therefore, that the great works of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven nonetheless strike us as forming indivisible wholes? Why cannot we indiscriminately interchange movements between different symphonies and quartets? Why cannot we substitute other "contrasting" second-subject groups for those which in fact exist in specific works? Why are some combinations of apparently heterogeneous material satisfactory while others are not?

Reti's answer to these questions—and it forms the main substance of his book—is that the thematic methods of the classical composers did not constitute a radical departure from, but rather an extension of, the practice of previous eras. The experience they dealt with involved dramatic conflict; indeed that was its essence. But they fought their battles in the interests of a new order. If they sought variety in outward appearances, they achieved homogeneity in the inner essence. Thus, for instance, they did not abandon counterpoint, as is commonly stated; they adapted it to different ends. The inversion, augmentation or retrogression of themes can now be used, not merely as a structural principle, but as a means of investing the theme with a different emotional and dramatic significance. Moreover, themes are now not merely varied; they are transformed into other themes, different in emotional flavour, yet with profound affinities. This is not a matter of the consciously contrived use of "motives" to bind a work together, as in some of Liszt's works. It is rather that certain basic thematic contours—melodic shapes and alternations of stress—tend to dominate the composer during the creation of a work and form in their various metamorphoses its experiential unity. Thus in the course of a detailed analysis of Mozart's

G minor symphony Reti demonstrates how the theme of the last movement is a resolution of the conflict latent in the opening theme of the first movement; and how the second-subject group of the last movement is related to that of the first. In a still more detailed analysis of Beethoven's Fifth he proves that the theme of the last movement is an inevitable resolution of the development of the thematic material in all the previous movements; and that its emotional effect "is determined by laws so strict, logical and organic that [the work of musical art] becomes in itself an allegory of all creation". Beethoven's conception of music as spiritual autobiography is not just a verbal appendage to the music: the experiential "content" can be traced in the technical evolution. Similarly the notorious dissonant clash in the first movement of the 'Eroica' is not merely an instance of Beethoven's shock-tactics; according to Reti's analysis, it is a consequence of the thematic bases of the movement, of which it forms the ultimate culmination.

The advantage of Reti's method is that it can be applied with equal validity to the music of all periods. Thus he can show how in Tchaikovsky's 'Pathétique' form exists at two levels, of both of which the composer was aware—the conventional mould of classicism and the inner logic which he sought for (without entire success). Similarly he can demonstrate how the two Rhapsodies of Brahms's Opus 79 are complementary realizations of the same basic idea; how the little pieces forming Schumann's 'Kinderszenen' are not isolated from one another, but comprise a coherent whole; and can demonstrate why Wagner's 'Tristan', despite the apparent dangers of the episodic technique of emotional commentary, does not, in the hands of a man of genius, produce disintegration. Most of all, he can offer the only intelligent and helpful criticism of Berlioz's formal processes I have come across; because he approaches them from the melodic and thematic standpoint, and does not attempt to apply to them criteria that are irrelevant. On the whole, apart from the great exceptional figures such as Berlioz and Wagner, he thinks there has been a decline in the grasp of thematicism as an organizing power since the classical era, and he does not devote much attention to modern music. But he mentions the twelve-note technique as a perhaps extravagant reassertion of the thematic principle; and had he wished he could have found conclusive examples in the work of such diverse composers as Hindemith, Bartók, Rubbra and Britten.

The question of how far the workings of the thematic process are conscious or unconscious is approached by Reti with proper circumspection—especially since the boundaries between what is signified by these terms are so dubiously defined. I should have thought, rather more strongly than Mr. Reti, that the process was of its very nature subconscious; but that at a fairly advanced stage of the creative process it tended to come out into the open—with some composers more so than with others. Beethoven, the most thorough exponent of the thematic technique, was certainly aware of what he was doing, as is indicated by his sketch books, and still more remarkably by the bar he added at the opening of the slow movement of Op. 106. He said that he wished this bar to be added in order to establish a similarity between the two movements; yet this affinity is of a kind that, to normal methods of analysis, is imperceptible.

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and diminution from the chorale melody. Normally, one finds that in a sixteenth-century Mass on a plainsong theme the different parts will be derived from the basic theme by many largely unconscious processes of variation and transformation. Literal imitation is not essential for the preservation of homogeneity. Linear evolution is a creative process, like life itself.

Although little attempt has been made at a subtle analysis of the thematic motet, most musicians would agree that some such approach as is here outlined is relevant: that the music is constructed or, rather, grows out of a number of equally important and related lines. But can one apply the principle to a large-scale work, such as Bach's B minor Mass? Do the miscellaneous movements and sections of the work make up an "organic" whole, and if so, why? Reti thinks they do; and that all the sections are related to or are transformations of two basic thematic ideas which permeate the whole gigantic structure. This case is not disproved but is rather strengthened by the fact that Bach borrowed certain movements from earlier and apparently alien works; for in these very movements he introduced several slight but significant changes which in every case tend to make the pieces more conformable with the basic thematic concept.

But it is not in discussing medieval, renaissance or baroque music that we come up against the essence of the problem; for since all these kinds of music were based on the conception of unity they inevitably depended on the continuous evolution of line. When we turn to classical symphonic music, however, we are faced with an art which is rooted in the idea of conflict or contrast. Why is it, therefore, that the great works of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven nonetheless strike us as forming indivisible wholes? Why cannot we indiscriminately interchange movements between different symphonies and quartets? Why cannot we substitute other "contrasting" second-subject groups for those which in fact exist in specific works? Why are some combinations of apparently heterogeneous material satisfactory while others are not?

Reti's answer to these questions—and it forms the main substance of his book—is that the thematic methods of the classical composers did not constitute a radical departure from, but rather an extension of, the practice of previous eras. The experience they dealt with involved dramatic conflict; indeed that was its essence. But they fought their battles in the interests of a new order. If they sought variety in outward appearances, they achieved homogeneity in the inner essence. Thus, for instance, they did not abandon counterpoint, as is commonly stated; they adapted it to different ends. The inversion, augmentation or retrogression of themes can now be used, not merely as a structural principle, but as a means of investing the theme with a different emotional and dramatic significance. Moreover, themes are now not merely varied; they are transformed into other themes, different in emotional flavour, yet with profound affinities. This is not a matter of the consciously contrived use of "motives" to bind a work together, as in some of Liszt's works. It is rather that certain basic thematic contours—melodic shapes and alternations of stress—tend to dominate the composer during the creation of a work and form in their various metamorphoses its experiential unity. Thus in the course of a detailed analysis of Mozart's

6: minor symphony Reti demonstrates how the theme of the last movement is a resolution of the conflict latent in the opening theme of the first movement; and how the second-subject group of the last movement is related to that of the first. In a still more detailed analysis of Beethoven's Fifth he proves that the theme of the last movement is an inevitable resolution of the development of the thematic material in all the previous movements; and that its emotional effect "is determined by laws so strict, logical and organic that [the work of musical art] becomes in itself an allegory of all creation". Beethoven's conception of music as spiritual autobiography is not just a verbal appendage to the music: the experiential "content" can be traced in the technical evolution. Similarly the notorious dissonant clash in the first movement of the 'Eroica' is not merely an instance of Beethoven's shock-tactics; according to Reti's analysis, it is a consequence of the thematic bases of the movement, of which it forms the ultimate culmination.

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What was to be done? The weather was magnificent and the sea perfectly calm. All we had to do was to wait patiently in the midst of the sea. Claudel translated the Psalm. I was composing 'Les Euménides'. The men fished. One day, contrary to all expectations, the ship began to move slightly. Miracle of miracles! We were in the Gulf Stream!

And so they go to Barbados.

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His literary friends have included Jammes, Gide, Claudel, Cocteau, Morand and Valéry; among the painters is Picasso. Naturally we hear something about 'Les Six', including an authentic account of the fortuitous origin of that group. We also are told a good deal about Erik Satie, and the chapter on Satie's illness and death is one of the best. But Satie's is only one of the more elaborate of a whole gallery of pen-portraits. Milhaud's observation is keen, his descriptions lively. Above all, he is tolerant and sympathetic; he may criticize but he is never unkind or malicious. Only one man fails to find room beneath the wide mantle of his charity, namely, Wagner. Milhaud cannot abide pomposity.

With all his wide interests, with all his sociability he is a quick and assiduous worker. The list of his compositions is long and varied. At one end of the scale we get such curiosities as 'Musique d'ameublement', 'Machines agricoles' and a trilogy of operas lasting, all told, 27 minutes. But if, during "the silly twenties", Milhaud's taste for the new and piquant sometimes got the better of his judgement it would be a mistake to let his frivolities prejudice our appreciation of the substantial achievement represented by his major works. When Paul Claudel once was looking for a musical collaborator for a satirical drama he rejected Milhaud as "too serious-minded"; and the composer constantly protests the

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Milhaud has travelled widely; he has visited most of Europe, including Sardinia, Constantinople and Soviet Russia; he has touched Asia (Syria) and Africa (Egypt), he has lived in the United States and during the First World War he was for a year of two secretary to the French Minister at Rio de Janeiro. He has also come across many interesting people. Debussy, whose music he adores, he met only once; but there can be but few French musicians since Debussy who do not appear in these pages. Among foreign composers he tells us about Schönberg, Hindemith, Stravinsky, Prokofiev, Casella, Falla, Sessions. Only the English are missing, except for a casual reference to Constant Lambert.

His literary friends have included Jammes, Gide, Claudel, Cocteau, Morand and Valéry; among the painters is Picasso. Naturally we hear something about 'Les Six', including an authentic account of the fortuitous origin of that group. We also are told a good deal about Erik Satie, and the chapter on Satie's illness and death is one of the best. But Satie's is only one of the more elaborate of a whole gallery of pen-portraits. Milhaud's observation is keen, his descriptions lively. Above all, he is tolerant and sympathetic; he may criticize but he is never unkind or malicious. Only one man fails to find room beneath the wide mantle of his charity, namely, Wagner. Milhaud cannot abide pomposity.

With all his wide interests, with all his sociability he is a quick and assiduous worker. The list of his compositions is long and varied. At one end of the scale we get such curiosities as 'Musique d'ameublement', 'Machines agricoles' and a trilogy of operas lasting, all told, 27 minutes. But if, during "the silly twenties", Milhaud's taste for the new and piquant sometimes got the better of his judgement it would be a mistake to let his frivolities prejudice our appreciation of the substantial achievement represented by his major works. When Paul Claudel once was looking for a musical collaborator for a satirical drama he rejected Milhaud as "too serious-minded"; and the composer constantly protests the

seriousness of his aims. Certainly his life has not been all roses. He lost his best friend in the First World War, and during the second not fewer than twenty cousins (Jews, like himself) perished in Hitler's extermination camps. Moreover, since about 1930 (he is chary of precise dates) he has been a sufferer from rheumatism, with long and frequent spells in bed and even longer ones of convalescence. He mentions these things, but he does not complain, nor has he allowed them to sour his nature.

The translation reads well, but on pp. 112 and 120 the word "recitative" is used with reference to 'Pierrot Lunaire', where Milhaud seems to be speaking of "sprechgesang". On p. 110 the author appears to attribute Cavaleri's 'Rappresentazione di anima e di corpo' to Monteverdi; and it may be suggested to the printer that "Egisteus" looks more classical without the second e.

P. L.

Johannes Brahms. Variationen um sein Wesen. By Franz Grasberger. pp. 464. (Vienna: Verlag Paul Kaltschmid. 1952.)

The heart of this book consists of a sketch of Brahms as man and artist (the theme), followed by elaborations of some aspects of this (variations), in sections devoted to his way of life, his friendships, his attitude towards his contemporaries, his public life, his relations with women and his summer-holiday periods during which so much of his music was written. The author brings forward no new material, but has thoroughly digested all the printed sources.

Brahms is one of those subjects who escape the straightforward biographer—the man disappears among the unexciting details of his external existence, while his own writings and reported sayings are, at any rate in the latter half of his life, seldom revelatory and often deliberately misleading. Everyone had to learn to read between the lines of his letters; and how difficult that sometimes was has been shown by Kalbeck in elaborate analyses of some of these crabbed and guarded utterances. In these circumstances it was an excellent idea to abandon the customary chronological treatment—there are enough Lives of Brahms already—and to concentrate on a few of the more revelatory aspects of the man and the composer. Grasberger seeks to present Brahms's music and character as a unity, to understand the former through the latter and the latter through the former. He sees the relationship to the Schumanns and, more especially, to Clara as the crucial experience of Brahms's life, and discusses the subjective and sentimental associations of such works as the D minor piano concerto, the Requiem, the C minor piano quartet and the first movement of the C minor symphony. After these come works associated with Agathe von Siebold, Julie Schumann (the Alto Rhapsody, although Kalbeck connects this rather with Feuerbach), Elisabeth von Herzogenberg and others. Altogether, the section devoted to Brahms's relations with women is the most interesting part of the book. The focus of the portrait could have been sharpened by more direct quotation from Elisabeth von Herzogenberg's most outspoken letters and Clara Schumann's later comments. Perhaps the real Brahms can only be seen through the eyes of his intimate friends.

Grasberger's likeable sketch of the composer begins on p. 85. It is preceded by a brief biography that seems superfluous and occasions a good deal of irritating repetition. It is followed by forty pages of illustrations and nearly sixty pages of appendices, with catalogues of the works according to the opus numbers, the Gesamtausgabe, the texts, and so on—all useful enough. But the impression remains that a good, short book has been buried under matter that does not essentially belong to it. For this the publisher must be blamed, as also for the breaking up of the continuity of the text by innumerable sub-headings. To give one example, p. 60 has the conclusion of a sub-section entitled 'Das Lied', a separate paragraph called 'Reifen' and the beginning of another sub-section entitled 'Ein deutsches Requiem'. This last begins with two sentences concerned with the Horn Trio and other works discussed in 'Reifen', and not at all with the Requiem.

A good book; but not quite the "Brahms Handbook", the "reference work of the first order", announced on the dust-cover.

F. W.

The Record Year. By Edward Sackville-West and Desmond Shawe-Taylor, assisted by Andrew Porter. pp. 383. (London: Collins. 1952. 18s.)

At the end of the summer of 1951 a young friend of mine who had been perambulating the music festivals of Europe found himself unemployed and solvent to the precise extent of two pounds. He spent thirty shillings on 'The Record Guide' (hereafter 'R.G.'), and the remainder on a railway ticket to the place where he proposed to seek employment. That story and my friend's subsequent contentment at the way in which he had invested his capital bear witness to the value of the volume which is here supplemented.

This first supplement includes fuller comment on the long-playing records discussed or mentioned in 'R.G.', some revisions of opinion and appraisal of every considerable disc issued between January 1951 and May/June 1952. The procedure follows that of 'R.G.'; but more alternative choices are given than before, the typography is less bold, a new style of reference is used to distinguish 10-inch and 12-inch discs, and the index has page references. The new book has fewer of those brilliant portraits of composers which graced 'R.G.', but many a lively comment will be found, for instance, on Chopin's Barcarolle (a surprising opinion), Janáček (firm on critics of 'Katya'), Kabalevsky (rather unkind: "Tchaikovsky and benzedrine"), and Liszt's piano sonata. There are some good jokes, some happy metaphors and some astonishing revelations. "Readers should be warned that a Nixa issue of the Requiem Mass [Verdi's] made by 'the Calvary Church Choir' and four soloists . . . is accompanied only by an organ, at whose manuals Mr. J. H. Ossewaarde directs the performance as well as rendering Verdi's orchestral score".

The deletions listed are gloomy—some Schubert sung by the lamented Elisabeth Schumann, some rare Rossini arias, much important Mozart. One must hope that the flood of long-playing records will bring these treasures back, and many older records. For the notable lesson of the book's contents is the huge increase in the number of records issued—in particular, there is a flood of unfamiliar music from the new Nixa and

Supraphon companies—and the important reappearance of many old vocal discs in the H.M.V. Archive Series. One admirable feature of the new volume is Andrew Porter's contribution on Scandinavian discs, full of attraction for the enterprising collector, and most knowledgeably presented.

There are a few mistakes, in record numbers, in titles (Liszt's first and third Mephisto Waltzes are confused), and in facts (Tchaikovsky's second piano concerto can be heard complete at Covent Garden in 'Ballet Impérial'). By a felicitous misprint the title of a Schubert recital "sung without much emotional conviction" is given as a "Song Coldection". But the authors themselves have had to cope with some dreadful muddles. The orchestral suites from 'Le Lac des cygnes', for instance, are chaos to the discographer; the Christian name of a Salzburg organist, too, evinces an impressive little display of erudition—for record labels can be treacherous. As the authors phrase it: "When words are printed in gleaming gold upon a background of pure white it may be quite difficult to persuade a novice that they represent a black lie." All this information is presented, as in 'R.G.', with admirably readable and lively lucidity. Unconfirmed players of the gramophone may scratch their heads at such language as, "Screaming treble and carpet-beater's bass"; but the others will smile at this graphic description of a none too rare characteristic.

'The Record Year' is not the exciting volume its predecessor was; but it is still a tour-de-force and, for the serious discophil, a storehouse of information.

W. S. M.

Richard Strauss, su vida y su obra. By Otto Erhardt. pp. 374. (Buenos Aires: Ricordi Americana.)

Several studies of Richard Strauss have appeared in various parts of the world during recent years, but no other comprehensive biography than this. Gregor's book dealt purely with the operas; others, limited in scope, have essayed portraits of Strauss—one by Kurt Pfister contains copious and admirable illustrations, another, Tenschler's '3 × 7 Variationen' has a catalogue that seems reliable. Dr. Erhardt, a friend of the composer and the eminent producer of his operas in Europe and America, contributes the first posthumous study of the man and the artist. That his book appears not in German but in a Spanish translation may seem odd until one remembers that he is producer at the Teatro Colón at Buenos Aires.

The most useful part of the book is the actual biography. From personal contact with his subject and with Clemens Krauss, Erhardt has been able to collect many interesting data on Strauss's later life, with amusing anecdotes and illuminating indications of the man's character. But Strauss's life was music. Erhardt sums up before he starts: "He was born, he learned to read and write music and—composed." On the music Erhardt is less satisfactory. Certainly he describes most of the works, with generous provision of music examples; but his comments, his information, never go quite far enough. The works do not stand out from the printed page as living creations, nor entice the reader to search farther in Strauss's work. The critical chapters, though nicely poised between enthusiasm and discrimination, are too full of pomposities that start as aphorisms and end as banalities; for example; "'When

Zarathustra was thirty years old, he forsook his fatherland and the waters of his fatherland, and went up to the mountain.' When Strauss was thirty-two years old he forsook the trite paths of the romantic ideal of redemption and wrote his tone-poem Opus 30." But "the master of of instrumental physiognomy" is pleasant.

It is less than ninety years since Strauss was born but already confusion about dates is rife, and Dr. Erhardt adds to it. Strauss made the 'Bourgeois Gentilhomme' suite in 1918, not two years later; and the first performance of the first version of 'Ariadne' took place on the twenty-fifth, not the tenth, of October, 1912. How many copies of the 'Kramerspiegel' songs were printed? Erhardt says 126 in the text, 120 in the catalogue; but that catalogue is not to be trusted about other matters, and moreover is incomplete. The Nature theme in 'Zarathustra' is blatantly labelled "La muerte" (Death). And one of the music examples has quietly emerged upside down. I do not know what should happen to German song-titles in a Spanish book. Some are here translated, others are left in the original language. The book includes some attractive photographs.

W. S. M.

The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins, Musician, Magistrate and Friend of Johnson. By Percy A. Scholes. pp. 287. (Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press. 1953. 35s.)

Dr. Scholes's new book is a by-product of his celebrated *Life of Burney*, than which it is naturally an altogether slighter performance, though it is all the same an attractive one. Johnson's "unclubbable man" possessed none of Burney's charming traits, and the records of his time bristle with uncomplimentary characterizations. But Hawkins was a friend both of Horace Walpole's and Samuel Johnson's, and therein is already a reason for us to be glad to read about him. And then there was that prodigious history of music, so unfriendly treated by Hawkins's contemporaries and not very cordially by Dr. Scholes, but none the less a monument of application and of musical devotion. A dry stick, this Hawkins; but under a rather forbidding exterior must have glowed a remarkable fire to have kept him at work for sixteen years on those five big tomes which, three-quarters of a century later, Alfred Novello could republish, calling the work "by far the best history of the Art extant". Again three-quarters of a century has passed since Hawkins was last published; but the present-day world does not altogether ignore him. Only the other year a Californian scholar, Robert Stevenson, was suggesting in the New York 'Musical Quarterly' his dissatisfaction with Dr. Scholes's treatment of Hawkins in his *Burney* book, maintaining, "Hawkins deserves a better reputation", and rating him "among the three great pioneers of modern musicology". (The crucial word, it must be noted, is "pioneer" and not "musicology".)

Dr. Scholes corrects a number of errors which have slipped into the dictionaries and history-books. Hawkins was not a solicitor, only an attorney. He was not a founder of the Madrigal Club. He had nothing to do with Stillingfleet's 'Principles and Power of Harmony' (1771); and 'A new Set of Psalms and Hymn Tunes' (c. 1810) was the work of another John Hawkins. Sir John died in 1789 at Islington Spa—not at the Belgian Spa.

Les Musiciens anglais d'aujourd'hui. By Martin Cooper. Translated by Frans Durif. pp. 227. (Paris: Plon. 1952.)

It is a gratifying sign of the times that a French translation should appear of these studies of contemporary English composers. There are twelve chapters, and with the exception of Holst all the subjects are living. Mr. Cooper is urbane as he is knowledgeable; and what is more, his French readers will recognize in him a truly critical spirit. If there is naturally a general tendency towards recommending the music discussed, this does not by any means rule out qualifications, and the French reader will have no reason to suspect propaganda and special pleading. The conspectus can hardly fail to command respect across the Channel, embracing as it does so many undeniable talents, and one would say that it must arouse serious curiosity there in those composers, such as Alan Rawsthorne, with whom Mr. Cooper is particularly in sympathy, though he gratuitously discourages interest in Elgar. Here and there a question is raised: Britten's version of 'The Beggar's Opera' is not quite adequately described as an arrangement of certain well-known songs from 'The Beggar's Opera'. The book is not of quite recent composition as we see, *inter alia*, from the relegation of a discussion of Vaughan Williams's Sixth Symphony to a post-scriptum.

The Other Mind: A Study of Dance and Life in South India. By Beryl de Zoete. pp. 256. (London: Gollancz. 1953. 52s. 6d.)

Miss de Zoete's new book is a companion to her 'Dance and Drama in Bali' (1938). It represents the harvest of several visits to India, in particular one she paid from November 1948 till December 1949; and it is informed with exquisite sympathy for the Indian art. Londoners have in recent years become more or less familiar with Uday Shankar and his followers, but most of us must, however attracted by the beauty of such performances, be keenly aware of the imperfection of our appreciation, wanting as it is in the traditional background. 'The Other Mind' provides the guide many must have been looking for. It is the more welcome since every page is a pleasure to read, so graceful and harmonious is Miss de Zoete's English.

The range of her book is far more than merely technical. Dancing in India retains many ancient elements, and the devil-dancers of Malabar are exorcists, not all of whose rites charm Miss de Zoete's aesthetic sense. Inclined though she is to see good in most things in her chosen territory, she allows that her Puli Chamundi dancer, whom she photographs in the act of biting the head off a chicken, is "in a very unpleasant situation", whatever may be made his "great distinction and nobility of bearing and expression".

She disclaims pretensions to write at length about Indian music, though she often touches upon it, for dance and music have, she says, been indivisible in India from the earliest times. There is a gentle reproach for Professor Venkataswami Naidu who, having attempted to adapt European music to South Indian instruments, came to the conclusion that our music "had no soul". It appears that he thought it good only "to lull a baby to sleep or to please a monarch into making precious gifts". One of the most charming chapters is dedicated (with pictures) to the dancer Srimati Shanta, evidently a great artist.

Beethoven-Studien. By Ludwig Misch. pp. 149. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 1950.)

The thirteen papers here collected are variously valuable, but none is inconsiderable. The first is an analysis and appreciation of the "Grand" B \flat fugue, written originally for a Furtwängler concert at Berlin in 1927, at which all the orchestral strings were employed, following the example set by Hans von Bülow a generation before. The author approves of this arrangement. He glances at a number of the unfavourable criticisms occasioned by the fugue in the past; suggests that twentieth-century ears are in a better position than those of the nineteenth to take it in; and proclaims the sheer musical worth of the maligned work. His analysis is illustrated by fourteen musical quotations.

In the second paper a comparison is drawn between the "danza tedesca" movement of the 'Cuckoo' sonata, Op. 79, and that of the B \flat quartet, Op. 130, but the author goes farther, and his excursion is interesting. Both the German dances, that of 1809 and that of 1825, are in G, though neither seems to have been conceived in that key, the earlier having been first sketched in C and the later one in A major (it was originally intended for the A minor quartet, Op. 132). There was a phase, in the composition of the B \flat quartet, Op. 130, in which the dance movement was in B \flat , before it settled into G. Was this key chosen because of the association in Beethoven's mind between a German dance movement and the G major of Op. 79? Whether or no, this key exerted a profound influence on the composition of Op. 130, and Ludwig Misch examines this with reflections on the subtlety of Beethoven's third-period tonal schemes. How comes it that the "overture" of the Grand Fugue, Op. 133, begins in G, a key which does not explain itself when the fugue is played as a separate composition? But this, as everyone knows, was the original finale of Op. 130; and this G major bears references that go back to the development of the first movement of the quartet, the G major section of which Misch invites us to regard as its centre and the culminating point of the modulatory curve of the whole movement. The third and fourth movements of the quartet are in D \flat and G major, that is to say, they are a minor third above and a minor third below the principal key. The slow movement (Cavatina) is naturally in the subdominant; but when Beethoven begins his finale he feels that the tonal scheme requires that he should strike out in G, and this he does both in the Grand Fugue and in the 1826 finale which took its place in the composition.

Schubert must have known this second finale, for it unmistakably influenced the finale of his last sonata, likewise a B \flat movement which begins, like Beethoven's, on a dominant seventh on G. This leads Ludwig Misch to a Beethoven-Schubert comparison, in which he is struck rather by the profound differences, so much so that he dismisses the resemblance as insignificant. Beethoven's principle was tonal unity and organically coherent modulation—a classical principle—while Schubert's was romantic. The G of his finale is a sheer surprise, giving the exciting effect of the unexpected.

The next paper is concerned with the finale of the third Rasoumovsky quartet; and this is followed with an elaborate discussion of the "problem" of the D minor sonata, Op. 31, No. 2, a problem that has much exercised German analysts, some of whom regard the first twenty bars of the first

movement as an introduction, while others take the twenty-first bar as the beginning of the bridge-passage. Misch holds that the first six bars contain the first subject, but this conclusion is not as simple as it may sound, and various considerations arise before it is established. Other subjects submitted to close discussion are the A \flat sonata, Op. 110, and the 'Egmont' and the 'Leonora' overtures. The collection ends with a paper less technical in scope, on the ethics of 'Fidelio'.

Sir Charles Hallé: a Portrait for Today. By Charles Rigby. Foreword by Sir John Barbirolli. (Manchester: Dolphin Press. 1952. 15s.)

Mr. Rigby has based himself on the 'Life and Letters' of 1896, but has also drawn upon other sources. Hallé's life was honourable, and not Manchester only owes him lasting recognition—all Victorian England was enlightened by his art and character. A noble musician! Mr. Rigby's researches have brought to light nothing to detract from his fame, though why this should be called "a portrait for today" is not too clear. Hallé's world seems to us infinitely remote.

There are occasional glimpses of his eminent contemporaries. Ruskin was left cold by Beethoven but was enchanted by Hallé's playing of Thalberg's 'Home, sweet home' variations, which Hallé, much against his will, had performed at the request of a schoolgirl; and not only that, but Ruskin actually defended his Philistinism. We see Heine in a disadvantageous light. After showing much amiability to Hallé in his Paris days, the poet suddenly cut him and, in a newspaper article, wrote of him as "a small prophet whom the whale would have spat out promptly if it had swallowed him". All because of some mistake about a concert ticket, which Heine chose to regard as an affront! Mr. Rigby has got Brahms's birth-date wrong on p. 8.

R. C.

REVIEWS OF MUSIC

O Lord, make thy servant, Elizabeth. Motet by William Byrd. (Oxford University Press. 9d.) *O Praise God in His Holiness.* For S.A.T.B. and organ. By Wilfred J. Emery. (Stainer & Bell. 8d.) *O Praise God in His Holiness.* For voices and organ or piano. By C. Armstrong Gibbs. (O.U.P. 9d.) *Thou art my life.* For S.S.A.T.B.B. By Basil Maine. (Stainer & Bell. 8d.) *This Royal Throne.* For chorus, orchestra and organ. By Stanley Wilson. Vocal Score. (Stainer & Bell.) *Windsor Mass.* Edited by C. F. Simkins. (Stainer & Bell. 1s.)

Among new publications for Coronation year pride of place clearly goes to Byrd's motet. It was a happy inspiration to make generally accessible his prayer that "Elizabeth our Queen" may rejoice in God's strength, may be given her heart's desire, prevented with everlasting blessing and granted a long life. Apart from a few typical clashes the piece proceeds in a loving euphony and in a consistently rich texture. It has a lovely plagal Amen. The altos are divided throughout, as are the tenors for part of the time, though when this occurs there seems to be no practicable alternative. Roger Ashfield has edited the motet on Fellowes's lines, transposing it up the usual minor third from Tudor Church Music. For choirs in which there are women altos it could, without inconvenience to the others, go higher still. This would also enable the second alto part, which is higher than the first on the whole, to be taken by trebles.

Of the two settings of Psalm 150 Dr. Emery's is in a sturdy, straightforward style with well-considered sonorities for the voices alternating with organ passages of the traditional festal type, which are not, however, devoid of harmonic interest. Armstrong Gibbs's setting, written originally for Women's Institute Choirs, is published in two forms, between them covering S.A., T.B., S.A.B. and S.A.T.B. In addition to the published accompaniments for organ or piano, there are also accompaniments available for full orchestra, medium orchestra and for strings and piano. One can certainly do no more. Simple to sing and clean in its outlines, the work none the less has its telling imaginative surprises.

Swaggering has been in this century first unfashionable and later impossible. Thus Stanley Wilson's assault, with panoply of fanfares, on Shakespeare's famous lines, lively though it is, seems to have an embarrassingly self-conscious air about it. The choral parts are easy enough to ensure a massive unanimity, but the interpolation of the national anthem with "wrong" harmonies argues a certain insensitiveness.

Basil Maine, in his motet inscribed "To the memory of H.M. King George VI", takes an urgent, passionate view of Francis Quarles's famous lines. The music shows powerful strokes of imaginative harmony, and is laid out on broad, bold lines, avoiding niggling effects. Once or twice the paper looks more convincing than the probable sound, as for instance when the basses are supposed to make a majestic crescendo from forte to fortissimo on their way down to bottom E \flat . Though the work is intended to have no accompaniment, the composer does not rule it out altogether,

and there are some places where, good choir or no, it might effectively strengthen the bass and help define the chords.

The 'Windsor Mass', a setting written early in the fifteenth century for the Chapel Royal, is, according to its editor, one of the earliest known arrangements in which the various items are conceived as a whole. It is short, having neither Gloria nor Credo, but it is a gem, combining great beauty of sound with intense though disciplined feeling. Some of its cadences are haunting, especially that shared by Sanctus and Benedictus and echoed at "miserere nobis" in the Agnus Dei. The original seems to have had roughly equal proportions of three- and four-part writing, the latter caused by dividing the lower line. In this edition the bass, which might otherwise find itself high and unbalanced when doubling the tenor, is asked on occasion to disappear and re-appear in the middle of a word. There are a few five-part chords, and the three-part writing is mellifluous with the frequent use of the characteristic "faux-bourdon" first inversions. In the Kyrie there seems to be a sharp missing from the suggested interpretation of "musica ficta", which surely never could have countenanced an augmented second.

The Ballad of Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard. For T.B.B. and piano. By Benjamin Britten. (Boosey & Hawkes. 1s. 6d.) *Thou didst delight mine eyes.* For T.B.B. unaccompanied. By Gerald Finzi (Boosey & Hawkes. 7d.) *Like as the doleful dove* and *The Bitter Sweet.* Transcribed from the Mulliner Book for S.A.T.B., by Denis Stevens. (Stainer & Bell. 8d.) *Curfew.* For T.T.B.B. and piano; and *When icicles hang,* for T.T.B.B. By R. W. Wood. (Joseph Williams. 7d. and 6d.) *The Little Boat.* For male choir and piano. By Thomas Wood. (Stainer & Bell. 8d.)

For those male-voice choirs who are not content with annual Soldiers' Choruses here is an interesting collection covering a wide range of mood and difficulty. Foremost comes a setting by Britten of a famous ballad, a setting as striking and effortlessly effective as the words themselves. It is written either for soloists or for choir and, for all its originality, makes no unreasonable demands on amateur singers. It is a little masterpiece, showing Britten's genius in a bright and engaging light. Though doubtless he would have been a match for them Britten has omitted the bloodier details of the dénouement.

Finzi's setting of a short poem by Bridges again makes no unfair demands, though there are a number of beautiful turns of harmony. One must admire the art which, by the simplest means, achieves great variety of colour in a restricted medium, the more so as the tenor line (as also in the Britten piece) is comfortably free from the high tessitura which is a mark of incompetent writing too often found in male-choir music.

In contrast R. W. Wood seems to reckon on singers all possessed of perfect pitch. 'Curfew' in particular is full of chords which will not sound "right" even if they are found, and the piano part, solely representing Longfellow's bell "solemnly, mournfully, dealing its dole" is conspicuously unhelpful. The piece strikes one as imaginative music in search of a medium. 'When icicles hang by the wall' is witty and slightly less demanding, though here again the highest skill is required. Again there are plenty of chords of B \flat with B \natural 's in them. For piano, or brass even, granted—but for unaccompanied voices?

Interesting though some of the rest may be, the chief treasure brought to light by Denis Stevens in his work on the Mulliner Book is the store of secular part-songs. Two gems are here published together, the first by Tallis to words by a William Hunnis, sometime Master of the Children at the Chapel Royal, the second an anonymous setting of a poem by Jasper Heywood from 'A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions' (1578). Tallis's song, though entirely homophonic, is a model of expressive harmony and rhythm. Look, for example, at the simple perfection of the line, "Whereon, wailing his chance, with bitter tears besprent". Melody being negligible at this point, the four bars rouse no comment on Mulliner's page; but to hear them sung is a revelation. In the twenty-fifth bar there is a striking spacing of voices (the alto high above the tenor), which does not occur in Mulliner, though the vocal version lies easily under the hands. 'The Bitter Sweet' is consistently polyphonic though it is of the 'Silver Swan' type with the "tune" at the top. And what a fine tune it is! Anonymous it may be, but by a master. Possessors of the Mulliner Book may care to correct octaves by reference to the twentieth complete bar, and at the twenty-second bar they will find a convincing "false relation" not suggested in the instrumental text.

Sweetness and sensitivity inform Vincent Knight's part-song which, despite its simple strophic form and mainly diatonic language, is able to create atmosphere immediately. The opening phrase of its grateful melody is reminiscent of Ernest Walker, as are some subtleties of harmony.

For occasions evoking national pride, room might well be found for 'The Little Boat', sub-titled "Dunkirk—1940", which is an adaptation by Arnold Foster of a movement from 'The Rainbow' for male voices and pianoforte. It has a direct and happily swinging refrain typical of its late composer.

Diepenbrock Albums. (Alsbach, Amsterdam.)

The 'Alphons Diepenbrock Fonds' is issuing the complete songs of this respected Dutch composer, who lived from 1862 to 1921. The pious work is well done, the printing being well-spaced and clear and the critical apparatus impressive to look at. The two volumes received are the first of those for high voices and the first of those for lower voices. The settings are of German, Dutch, French and, in one case, Italian words. The general impression they give is of a composer heavily influenced by Wagner who later turns to the French Symbolist poets, under whose influence his style is sharpened and lightened but not to the extent of shedding its German traits. One is immediately struck by the lavish detail of the piano parts in contrast with which the voice part appears square in rhythm and lacking in character. Indeed with a few exceptions, of which the setting of Brentano's Spinning Song is certainly one, the mood of each song seems to depend but little on the vocal line. Significantly enough, out of nearly thirty songs only one is in a quick tempo, and even this is more apparent than real. The French songs, which appear in the volume for baritone or mezzo-soprano, show a little more liveliness without becoming involved in impressionism. It is the composer's misfortune to have set poems which have each evoked masterpieces, such as 'Clair de Lune', 'Mandoline' and 'L'Invitation au voyage'. In particular 'Mandoline', with its reference to Don Giovanni, is a good song; but Debussy's is a superb one.

Three Fugues. By Johann Georg Albrechtsberger, arranged for the organ by C. S. Lang. (Curwen. 4s.) *Trio Sonata in B♭.* For organ. By Peter Wishart. (O.U.P. 6s. 6d.) *Preludes, Nos. 3 and 4,* for organ. By H. P. Chadwyck-Healey. (Augener. 2s. each.)

It has long been the custom, particularly among nineteenth-century biographers, to pour a condescending scorn on those who had to attend to the teaching of genius, even on those whose efforts, so far as we know, were wholly salutary. Albrechtsberger took seriously the duty laid on him by Beethoven—as who would not?—and Beethoven took pains in return, to the extent of a far larger number of contrapuntal exercises than some students would do for a degree. We should therefore be grateful to Dr. Lang for exhuming these three pieces, even if they only allowed us to satisfy our curiosity. But they do more than that, for after a rather slick and conventional fugue in the major key come two in the minor in which there is added to an effortless technique a strain of noble melancholy well worth the recapturing. Amusingly enough, the text as printed gives a very bad pair of octaves on p. 5, easily corrected.

At last the organ as a medium has attracted a rising composer. Peter Wishart has adapted the technique of the Bach trio-sonatas to his own fluent and mainly ingratiating style. His counterpoint displays many surprising combinations of notes, but they are offset by a cunning use of irregular sequences and the frequent use of scale-wise motion. There is, however, in the middle movement a studied angularity for which there is again Bach's impressive example. The technical difficulties are not as unremitting as those of Bach, but there are a good many teasing overlappings of phrasing between pedals and left hand. One other warning: some passages are jocular.

Mr. Chadwyck-Healey's Preludes are more conventional in style, but No. 3, though frankly sentimental in some of its harmony, contains some charming ideas. No. 4 is called 'A March based upon a sliding scale'.

Piano Sonata. By Humphrey Searle. (O.U.P. 10s.) *Interlude.* For viola and piano. By Walter Piston. (Boosey & Hawkes. 3s.) *Elegy, Op. 22 No. 2.* For piano. By Alan Richardson. (Augener. 2s. 6d.) *Silhouette, Op. 24.* For violin and piano. By Alan Richardson. (Augener. 3s.) *Sonatina* for viola and pianoforte. By Lloyd Webber. (Augener. 5s.)

It would be idle to pretend that this notice of Humphrey Searle's Sonata is based on a personal performance with any pretensions to accuracy. It would take weeks so to familiarize oneself with the notes that one could begin to tackle the technical problems of playing them. Fortunately Gordon Watson has performed the work on Argo records. Whether Humphrey Searle gains inspiration from wrestling with his note-rows or whether his fervour and technique enable him to carry the mill-stone like a banner is perhaps neither here nor there, for this sonata makes a thoroughly convincing impression of power and necessity. It was written "for the 140th birthday of Franz Liszt" and is in one movement. It is a worthy monument to him for whom the composer has already done much, and since the twelve-note technique is the most thoroughgoing example of "thematic transformation" the style is more apt than some might think. Three other qualities this music shares with Liszt's: the dauntlessly leaping contours, an urgent and extravagant dramatic sense

and a sure feeling for the sound of the instrument. This last might appear hardly worth mentioning were it not that so many recent composers seem to have decided that the piano has had its spurious day as an expressive instrument. The work is for professional pianists only, to whom the limited reassurance can be given that it is not as long nor as difficult as Liszt's Sonata.

Alan Richardson does not storm heights, but in his sensitive and grateful elegy employs a wide range of romantic harmony kept within bounds by a well-unified and concise style of only moderate physical difficulty. The delicate and fittingly shapely 'Silhouette' also hits its mark.

One might describe Walter Piston's short piece as being by a more chromatic Rubbra. There is the same homogeneous and slowly unfolding lyrical style, in this case somewhat featureless at first but summoning its energies to a fine climax. Viola-players should find that it accords well with their instrument and will hold its head up in any group of pieces.

Lloyd Webber's modest title conceals a fine work which manages through a well-disciplined logical form to cover much ground in its eight minutes. The first movement grows constantly and seamlessly from its opening bars and yet has many colours. The second movement, a rhapsodic Larghetto, seemingly plunges before its time into the helter-skelter last, but its main theme re-appears not as a reminiscent parenthesis but as a consummation which, for once, really makes its point. The parts are fairly easy.

Divertimento. For flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon and horn. By Francis Chagrin. Score. (Augener. 5s.) *Notturmo.* For strings and harp. By Irving Fine. Full Score. (Boosey & Hawkes. 10s.) *Romance.* For string orchestra. By Gerald Finzi. Full Score. (Boosey & Hawkes. 10s.)

Francis Chagrin's witty suite is written in that diatonic-with-quirks style which the wind ensemble seems so often to evoke. It is excellent fun but no laughing matter for the horn. There are three short movements, a hunting Allegro, a sly Intermezzo and another piece in six-eight time which reminds itself of Berlioz' Witches and Delius's Paris.

The Notturmo is an interesting and often beautiful piece of atmospheric music, fastidiously and sometimes elaborately scored. The harp has only a supporting role and does not appear in the middle movement. The work is somewhat deficient in significant melody and some of the figuration seems irrelevant. But in so short a piece, which concentrates on the sound of the music, this may turn out to be merely a "paper" criticism.

Finzi's is an early short work of simple ternary design. It is easy to play and is a study in uninterrupted euphony. The music is reminiscent of Elgar in its doubled interior melodies, but it has far fewer accidentals than most of his.

I. K.

Part-Songs. By Haydn. Arranged and edited by Maurice Jacobson, with words by Margaret Lyell. (Curwen. 8d.—1s. 3d. each.) *Three Songs, for Mixed Voices (Six Parts), Opus 42.* By Brahms. English Translation by Astra Desmond. (Cranz. 1s. 6d., 1s. 9d., 2s. each.)

The Haydn part-songs are those composed between 1796 and 1801. Only the four-part (S.A.T.B.) settings, of which there are nine, are included in the present publication, but they are particularly welcome,

being the first edition with English words (these seem admirable). It is to be hoped that they will be frequently sung, since they rank in quality with their contemporaries, 'The Creation' and 'The Seasons'. Though displaying variety of treatment they are predominantly and expertly contrapuntal—some of the light-hearted ones, like 'Water and Wine', rival the best madrigals in rhythmic and polyphonic vivacity. The more serious ones—'Thou, who art all holy', 'Lord God, in power and glory', and 'O God, deliver me'—are called anthems in this edition and could, indeed, serve as such. Of the accompaniments (for piano or possibly organ), some are essential. Of those marked "ad lib." most cannot well be omitted without producing awkward pauses or harmonic solecisms; but some duplicate the voices and can be dispensed with entirely. In these songs Haydn's mastery of phrase-structure, melodic line and modulation are seen at its best.

Brahms's Three Songs for S.A.A.T.B.B. hardly need their piano accompaniment. In No. 2, 'Vineta', a setting of words by W. Müller, sonorous six-part writing is maintained almost throughout. In No. 1, 'Evening Serenade' (Clemens Brentano) and No. 3, 'Dirge for Darghula' (Herder's German version of Ossian) much antiphonal use is made of groups of three voices. The first is a gentle and charming short piece; the third is more elaborate and is not unlike the 'Edward' ballad in mood and musical style, with its bare fifths in the outer sections. Astra Desmond's English version of the songs suits admirably.

Concertos No. 1 in D & No. 2 in B minor, for String Orchestra or Piano (Organ or Harpsichord) with String Accompaniment. By John Stanley. Edited and arranged by Gerald Finzi. (Boosey & Hawkes. Full Scores, 10s. each.) *Concerto for Horn and String Orchestra*, Op. 65. By Othmar Schoeck. (Boosey & Hawkes. Full Score, 10s.; Horn and Piano, 8s.)

Two more concertos by John Stanley continue a series of publications in which Gerald Finzi presents a thoroughly practical performing edition suited to a variety of circumstances, which at the same time indicates clearly the original text of Stanley's own two versions of each work (as a Concerto Grosso with string Concertino or as a concerto for keyboard instrument and strings), for which students and performers will be grateful. The music itself has breadth and humanity and a warm serenity even in the lively fugal movements, which bear the unmistakable stamp of the composer's style. Certain melodic and other formulae, however, amount almost to mannerisms at times.

Schoeck's horn concerto, a three-movement work lasting 18 minutes, is in a light and not too original style, but is pleasant and very competently written. Technically, it is probably one of the more exacting and exhausting horn concertos.

Violinist's Vade Mecum. By Editha Knocker. (Curwen, 18s.)

This book, "an invitation to all students, teachers and performers", will be read with interest by all those to whom it is addressed and by many more besides, since it sums up the late Miss Knocker's immense experience as a violin teacher. After a short chapter by Martin Johnson on the history of the violin, which gives a vague account of ancient

civilizations and primitive instruments of all types and hardly any information about the viol and violin families, the remainder of the verbal text is packed with an astonishing amount of information and advice on every aspect of violin playing, ranging from the construction and care of instrument and bow to the teaching of children, memorizing and playing with an orchestra. The longest chapter is devoted to a discussion of practically all problems of technique, and includes a large number of short and helpful technical exercises, which occupy half the book. Also included are hints on practising certain of the standard études, a general list of études, a list of standard études selected for specific technical purposes, and a short and rather arbitrary list of books of general interest.

The only possible criticism is that some trifling points are treated in great detail (the more obvious features of stringing the violin, for instance), while more important matters are only briefly mentioned (for example, the section 'Studying a Composition' starts promisingly but peters out far too soon). But Miss Knocker's enthusiasm for the highest artistic standards shines through it all and should inspire students, teachers and performers alike. One is glad to note also the outlook which admits that there is often more than one good way of doing a thing, and that different students and performers have different physical characteristics and needs. Altogether this is a most useful and inspiring book. A detached supplement of suggested accompaniments to the longer exercises is provided.

String Quartet No. 2, in E \flat , Op. 73. By Edmund Rubbra. (Lengnick. Score, 7s.)

This quartet makes an immediate impression by its warmth of feeling, often expressed in a most euphonious style. The composer has now reached that mature mastery which can dispense with clear-cut key schemes and clear-cut formal treatment of thematic material by way of recapitulations and the like. Close examination reveals a highly organized texture, gradually evolving, in the first movement, from the first four notes, with the addition from time to time of new melodic material which seems to spring naturally from incidental occurrences in previous developments. There is a certain amount of recapitulation of recognizable complete themes, especially in the Scherzo Polimetrico (second movement), but it is on the whole exceptional. Yet how very fitting is the new theme (marked "Chorale") which appears at the end of the finale! The key schemes within the first, third and last movements would, if considered by themselves, appear haphazard in the extreme. Yet how very satisfying is the sudden return to the E major chord at the end of the Cavatina (third movement)! The scherzo is rather less subtle in these matters. Instead we have considerable rhythmic complexity. The title "polimetrico" refers to the simultaneous use of different time-signatures in different parts (such as 12/8 with 21/8). But since this is arranged in such a way that the dotted crotchet beat is constant (the bar-lines not necessarily coinciding) and not in the much more complex way in which all bars would be equal in duration, the general effect is that of a continuous stream of three-quaver groups in which the listener can only be guided by thematic repetitions, ostinato figures and the melodic shape of the

slower-moving principal themes. He may never even suspect a half of the complexities which engage the score-reader and worry the players. But this movement stands apart from the others, which are very homogeneous—there are certain definite similarities of melodic intervals and harmony, notably a series of alternating chords appearing in the first and third movements. This is one of the most satisfying quartets to appear for many years.

E. J.

The Hymns of the Hirmologium Part I. Transcribed by Aglaia Ayoutanti and Maria Stöhr. Revised and annotated by Carsten Höeg. (Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae. Series Transcripta Vol. VI. Copenhagen, 1952.)

The Hirmologium contains the model stanzas (Hirmoi), both text and music, of the Kanons, which were sung from the eighth century onwards during the service in the Byzantine Church. Each Kanon consists of nine Odes; and the melody of the first stanza of each Ode fits the rest of the stanzas of the Ode. All the nine Odes of a Kanon are composed in the same mode. In the Hirmologia from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries the Hirmoi are collected according to their modes beginning with those composed in the first mode and ending with those in the fourth plagal mode.

As can be seen from the tables in my 'A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography' (Clarendon Press, Oxford 1949), the Byzantine modes have greater significance than those in Western polyphonic music. They are not merely scales but also melodic patterns, each characteristic of its own mode. The present edition of Hirmoi, composed in the first authentic and plagal modes, is based on a Hirmologium from the library of the Iviron monastery on Mount Athos, dating from the middle of the twelfth century. The facsimile of this Codex is published as Volume II of the main series of the Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, and the transcription was made by two of my former pupils in Vienna, Dr. Maria Stöhr and Dr. Aglaia Ayoutanti. Professor Carsten Höeg has carefully revised the text and, with the help of one of his pupils, Jørgen Raasted, has supplied synoptic tables of the same melody in various manuscripts from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, from which the continuity of the melodic tradition can be seen. The transcription of more than 300 melodies is preceded by an introduction in which Höeg discusses the editorial work, and is followed by a commentary on the text and music. Both the introduction and the commentary contain a wealth of material from which the reader can gain valuable information about the hymns.

Musically, the melodies of the Hirmologion belong to the syllabic type. Mostly a single note or a group of two corresponds to a syllable or a monosyllabic word of the text. The publication will be welcome to students of plainsong who will see that Byzantine musical notation is much more explicit about the execution of the music than is Western neumatic notation in general, and is even more subtle than the manuscripts from St. Gall and Metz, which have rhythmical and dynamic signs and letters. Indeed I am more and more convinced that Byzantine musical notation was primarily intended as a guide to the execution of the music for those who already knew the music by heart. Only at a later stage was it transformed into a system of signs which indicated also the approximate and

finally the exact size of the intervals. It also becomes clear from a study of the music that it was originally diatonic and that the strange intervals of present-day Greek music are due to Arabic and Turkish influences. It also suggests that we must base our study and performance of Byzantine music on the manuscripts of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, in which it is handed down to us in a form which permits us to transcribe the music with all its rhythmic and dynamic nuances, a form that can be traced back to the tenth century—the date of the earliest surviving manuscripts with musical notation.

E. W.

M. van Someren-Godfery: *Six Blake Songs*. (London: Augener. 6s.)

Any baritone or mezzo-soprano who cannot really sing but is very good at enunciation of words will find this set of songs a boon. Six of Blake's prettiest naïveties have been put to sensitive, effective music, a note for each syllable, neither more nor less. It is most heartening to find a composer who is not afraid to adopt a treatment of words which has the sanction of a fine British tradition dating from Merbecke's 'Booke of Common Praier Noted'. No strain is put on the singer's tone-production, and very little on his sense of pitch. The first four songs (from Songs of Innocence) are 'Infant Joy', 'Piping down the valley', 'The Shepherd' and 'A Cradle Song'. The fifth is 'Never seek to tell thy love' and finally (from Songs of Experience) 'The Poison Tree'.

Arquivo de Musica Religiosa de la Capitania Geral das Minas Gerais. Vol. I. (Published by the Departamento de Musicologia, of the Escuela Superior de Musica, of the Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, Montevideo.)

This volume contains the full scores of three works written in Brazil towards the end of the eighteenth century by composers either black or mulatto. An absorbing historical study of the times has been written by way of prologue and, if it were not in American-Spanish with a liberal salting of Portuguese, I should unhesitatingly recommend it to every musician. Research has been yielding some valuable finds, not only in the matter of actual manuscripts but also of indications of the livelihood of musicians and the large part played by music in the life of the people. The introduction of the folk element (together with certain questionable dances) into the ecclesiastical norm, the evanescence of Portuguese influence and other such points of historico-musicological interest are dealt with. All along one is impressed with the sad tale of how much music has been lost of which only contemporary eulogies remain. Of the music itself printed in this volume little need be said. No claim is made for its greatness or even musicality. The volume is in fact an archive pure and simple, thus making no appeal as such, though to anyone who is entertained by the learning of something previously unknown to them this publication should prove most gratifying. The composers represented are Lobo de Mesquita, Coelho Netto and Gomes da Rocha. Their church music here printed is scored mostly for four-part mixed choir (the soprano and alto lines of which would have been sung by suitable men), trumpets, strings and continuo.

P. A. T.

Pianoforte Sonatas. By Beethoven. Edited by B. A. Wallner. Fingering by Conrad Hansen. Volume I (Nos. 1-15). (Henle-Verlag, München-Duisburg.)

Like Schenker's edition of Beethoven's sonatas, published in the Universal Edition, this new publication, which is designed to be completed in two volumes, is based upon the autographs, so far as they exist, and upon the original editions, the aim being to reduce modern editorial intervention to a minimum. The misprints committed by Beethoven's engravers are corrected—in one instance, rather gratuitously, namely in the C minor sonata, Op. 10, No. 1, where the last chord of bar 161 (in the first edition C, E \flat , C), is here corrected to C, E \flat , A \flat , though Tovey regarded the original as "a beautiful reading". Wallner generally respects the limitations of the compass of Beethoven's piano, but countenances the completion of the series of bass octaves in the first movement of Op. 10, No. 3 (bars 271-2), with parentheses for the notes Beethoven was unable to use.

It is claimed for this edition that much that has been long unavailable, or not at all, is now restored, for instance, Beethoven's own distribution of the notes on the two staves; and the undertaking has evidently been the subject of devoted labour on the part of editor and publisher, while the publication reflects great credit upon the engraver. The footnotes are restrained to the point that, for practical purposes, there are gaps. That rather enigmatic *p* in the development of Op. 22 (first movement, bar 101) surely implies a previous decrease from the fortissimo of a dozen bars before; and Beethoven's pedalling is not applicable to the modern instrument.

R. C.

POCKET SCORES.—Recently published pocket scores include: Monteverdi's posthumous four-voice Mass, first published in 1651 and now edited by H. F. Redlich; J. S. Bach's 21st, 46th and 123rd Cantatas; Geminiani's Concerto Grosso in D, Op. 3, No. 1; J. C. Bach's Sinfonia Concertante for two violins in E \flat ; Haydn's 'Horn Signal' symphony in D, No. 31; Mozart's Adagio and Fugue, K. 546, for strings, his wind quintet, K. 452, and his 'Impresario' overture; Cherubini's 'Anacreon' overture; Weber's 'Jubilee' overture; Rossini's 'Cenerentola' overture; Wagner's 'Meistersinger' overture; Bruckner's string quintet; Mahler's Fifth Symphony; Wolf's Italian Serenade; and Chabrier's 'España' (all published by Eulenburg); Brahms's Haydn Variations, edited by Gordon Jacob (Penguin Scores); Benjamin Frankel's Third Quartet (Augener); and Falla's 'Three-cornered Hat' (J. and W. Chester).

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of MUSIC & LETTERS

SCHUBERT'S TRIO, OP. 99

Sir,

The correct dating of Schubert's pianoforte Trio in B \flat , Op. 99, is the most—indeed, the only—vexed question in a chronological arrangement of his major works. The manuscript has disappeared, and there is no contemporary evidence of any kind.

Modern opinion inclines to 1827 as the year of composition, associating the work with its fellow Trio in E \flat , Op. 100, whose exact date of composition, November 1827, is known. This tendency to place the work in 1827 may also have derived from an error of Grove's. But an earlier date, 1826, clings obstinately to the work. It derives from Schumann's supposition that Op. 99 was written "shortly before" Op. 100, a supposition which was accepted as fact by Kreissle, who gives 1826 as the year of composition in his supplementary catalogues.

For years I have been on the look-out for some small hint, or pointer, which would serve as a clue to establish the correct year between the two attributed ones; at last, I think, I have found it. It is not by any means conclusive but is, in itself, of interest enough to quote. The clue occurs in an article by Karl M. Klier in the 'Jahrbuch des österreichischen Volksliedwerkes I' (Vienna, 1952), entitled 'Österreichische Pilotenschlaggerlieder'.

Klier mentions at the end of this article on the songs of Austrian pile-drivers an old tradition of Gmunden. This states that during 1825, Schubert, on holiday in the town, watched a gang of pile-drivers at work and listened to one of their songs. By this song he was subsequently inspired ("angeregt") to write part of the Adagio in E \flat , called a Notturmo (Op. 148, Deutsch Catalogue 897); the section referred to is that in E major, bars 33 *et seq.* The tradition, says Klier, was also supported by family letters unfortunately destroyed in 1945. His great-great-uncle, Karl von Czillich (born 1792) was first visitor, then resident in Gmunden, dying there in 1878. Schubert's E major melody shows the tradition to have a certain plausibility. Comparing it with Klier's quotations from other authentic pile-drivers' songs we can see that there are significant pauses where the gang of men would deliver the 'Niederschlag' in unison:



Now it has been supposed that this Notturmo in E \flat is a rejected slow movement from the Trio in B \flat . I myself believe this to be so, since Schubert never wrote isolated movements of this kind for chamber-music

combinations. He replaced it by another, and far finer, movement in E \flat , the one which now stands in the trio.

We must believe, surely, that there was no long delay between Schubert's attraction to the pile-drivers' song and its incorporation in an instrumental work. This means that the Trio in B \flat dates probably from 1826, and possibly from late 1825.

Marlborough.

MAURICE J. E. BROWN.

CORELLI'S ORNAMENTATION

Sir,

Stewart Deas, writing in *MUSIC & LETTERS* (January 1953) on Corelli's ornamentation of the first six sonatas of his Op. 5, says that such ornamentation has no place in the straightforward dance movements of the second part of the book. If this is so then Geminiani's excellent ornamentation of the complete sonata IX, as published in Hawkins's *History*, is a mistake.

At the bottom of the matter is the desire on the part of Messrs. Deas, Pincherle and others to leave well enough alone and stem the progress of the idea of free ornamentation of early music by modern violinists. Only by ignoring historical facts can the arguments against free ornamentation be presented. Pincherle's statement that Corelli's written-out ornaments are merely pedagogic can be easily refuted on the concert stage by playing both versions in succession, as has been done, and leaving the decision to the audience.

1970 Cheremoya,
Hollywood 28,
California.

SOL BABITZ.

THE LONDON AUTOGRAPH OF 'THE 48'

Sir,

In your January issue, page 40, Miss Richardson makes a slip in stating that I informed her that "Miss Emmet received £8 when she sold the manuscript in 1879". The information I gave her was that Miss Emmet *paid* Clarissa Clarke £8 for the autograph in 1879. The receipt for this sum is included in Add. MS. 35,022 in the British Museum, signed by Clarissa Clarke and dated June 19th 1879.

Lewes.

STANLEY GODMAN.

HANDEL'S 'ESTHER'

Sir,

Under 'Handeliana' (*MUSIC & LETTERS*, April 1950), I suggested that Burney's statements that a performance of 'Esther' was given at the house of Bernard Gates, on February 23rd 1731 (*i.e.* 1732), were open to question, because of a reference in a manuscript of the work sold some years ago by Ellis of Bond Street. This I had not seen, but I should now like to record that I have recently purchased a fine contemporary manuscript of the oratorio which confirms the evidence, given in the Ellis manuscript, that the work was performed on the date mentioned at the

Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand; and this is in agreement with an entry in the Earl of Egmont's diary, Wednesday, February 23rd 1732:

From Dinner, I went to the Music Club where the King's Chapel Boys acted the History of Hester, writ by Pope, and composed by Handel.

Although this entry has been known to some Handelianes the statements on the point by Burney have been generally accepted, but must now be considered as inaccurate.

Chislehurst.

WILLIAM C. SMITH.

SPURIOUS PERGOLESI

Sir,

Readers of MUSIC & LETTERS may be interested and amused by the latest development in the hunt for the real composer of the six Concertini included in Pergolesi's 'Opera omnia'.

In MUSIC & LETTERS for October 1949 Mr. C. L. Cudworth showed that these works were identical with six 'Concerti Armonici' published by Walsh as compositions of C. B. Ricciotti. In your correspondence columns for July 1951, I pointed out that the first violin part in the original edition of the supposed Ricciotti concertos (published at The Hague in 1740) includes a dedicatory letter which makes clear that Ricciotti was *not* the composer. The concertos were the product of an "illustrious hand", esteemed and honoured by the dedicatee, Count Bentinck.

Recently Maestro Luciano Berio, whose interest in the problem of the numerous Pergolesi forgeries and misattributions had been aroused by an article of mine in 'The Musical Quarterly', inspected the manuscript score of the Concertini in the Library of Congress, Washington. This score, at one time in the library of Franz Commer, is the original source of the attribution of these works to Pergolesi. Maestro Berio found that the first page of the manuscript was glued tightly over another page. The library technicians separated the glued pages and found this inscription on the one underneath:

6 Septetti per 4 viol. etc. . . . in partitura del F. G. Haendel

I do not myself believe that these concertos can be by Handel, but the association of his name with them perhaps explains Ricciotti's reference to an "illustrious hand". And certainly this discovery of Maestro Berio's must increase the suspicion with which manuscripts attributed to Pergolesi are to be regarded.

Orpington.

FRANK WALKER.

"MRS. OOM AND 'THE FORTY-EIGHT'"

Sir,

In January 1951 you published a letter from me under this title, arising from a question asked in an article in 'The Daily Telegraph': Who was the Mrs. Oom who subscribed for twelve copies of the Wesley and Horn edition of 'The 48'? The lady was Charlotte Augusta Papindiek, born 1783, whose first husband was Thomas Oom and whose second was Sir Joseph Planta, M.P. for Hastings.

Now a little addition to the facts contained in that letter. Mr. J. Manwaring Baines, curator of the Hastings Museum, recently informed me that there was a memorial tablet to Mr. Oom in All Saints' Church, Hastings; this I have now seen, and have copied the inscription. It runs:

Sacred to the memory of Thomas Oom Esquire who died at Fairlight Place, justly beloved and respected, on the 6th of October 1830, aged 70.

He was, therefore, born in 1760. He was forty-two when he married Charlotte Augusta, who was then nineteen. She married Planta in 1831. He died in 1847, and his widow was granted apartments at Hampton Court, where she died in 1854.

Bexhill-on-Sea.

CONSTANCE RICHARDSON.

TOVEY AND THE GRAMOPHONE

Sir,

It is certainly untrue to say that Tovey never made any gramophone records. Besides the extract from 'The Art of Fugue' mentioned by Professor Deas in *MUSIC & LETTERS* for October 1952 (p. 376), he recorded Beethoven's sonata in G, Op. 96, with Adila Fachiri. This recording, which was made in 1928 for the National Gramophone Society, has the unusual feature that, at the end of the exposition in the first movement, the players stop and Tovey says: "Repeat from the beginning; second time!" The sonata occupies seven sides, the eighth containing the Andante from Bach's sonata No. 2 in A. The records are numbered 114-117. It is doubtful whether the matrices survive; but if there were sufficient demand it might be possible to re-record, or transfer to a Long Playing record. The Oxford University Gramophone Library possesses a set of the records.

St. John's College,
Durham.

G. J. CUMING.

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